[illegible] 1798

French Emigrants

[illegible]ording to a work

[illegible]ly Published in Paris

[illegible] amount of the Emigra[illegible]

[illegible] France, since the

[illegible] July 1792 are 124,000

[illegible]ons - 9000 of whom are

[illegible]ale Noblesse —

[illegible]is Number composed

[illegible] following classes

[illegible]les	16,922
[illegible]ests	22,000
[illegible]lesse belonging [illegible] Army	8,492
[illegible]bers of Parliament	404
[illegible]ded Proprietors	9939
[illegible]mers	3268
[illegible]yers	2267
[illegible]akers	230
[illegible]chants	7200
[illegible]ries	324
[illegible]tians	522
	78768

Gro[illegible] — [illegible]
Surgeons — 340
Noblesse belonging to the Navy — 2000
Male Artisans — 22723
Female Artisans — 3000
Servants — 2600
Children of both sexes — 3083
Nuns — 4422
Persons of different professions not included in any of the above — 6652
Total — 124,000

There is a very great difference between this calculation and the list found in the possession of Durand Maillane and before the Tribunal, where he was tried as agent

on the emigrants this list made the number amount to 400,000, which is probably a pretty accurate estimate of all the fugitives from Ireland. The above calculation is made from public lists, published by authority, and is so far correct, but it is well known that vast numbers have emigrated whose names never never placed upon these lists.

Lost during the revolution, Mr. Hardiman's pamphlet — 2,000,000
The above - - - 400,000

2,400,000.

Not including what [illegible] in the [illegible]

A SERIES OF LETTERS;

CONTAINING

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT

OF THE

MASSACRES OF PARIS,

IN THE MONTHS OF

JUNE, JULY, AUGUST, AND SEPTEMBER,

M,DCC,XCII,

SELECTED FROM THE MOST APPROVED PUBLICATIONS

WHICH HAVE APPEARED ON THOSE TRANSACTIONS.

PRINTED FOR THE BOOKSELLERS.

M,DCC,XCIII.

Extract - The new opinions
lately introduced into France
Paris - that none might escape,
every street & avenue was
guarded, the houses forcibly
entered, and the unfortunate
dragged to prison. In every
prison a tribunal was erected,
by which the prisoners were
tried, condemned, and immedi-
-ately ordered for execution.
The chief persons employed in
these horrible scenes were,
Petion, Manuel, Danton, Lados,
Fillery, and Condorcet. The
massacre which took place
on the 2nd Sept. was much more
than those which preceded.
It is computed that, during the
month of Sept. twelve or
fifteen thousand were
assassinated. Among the
murdered were most of the
witnesses who had testified
against Orleans for his
connection with the affair of
the 5th and 6th of Oct. 1789. There
was also a great number of
priests, and many men of the
first rank & character in the
state. These assassinations com-
-menced some days, Marat had
for his share 15,000 livres £625
sterling.

LETTERS

ON

THE MASSACRES IN PARIS.

LETTER I.

Dublin.

DEAR SIR,

ACCORDING to my promiſe I take the earlieſt opportunity of acquainting you with thoſe dreadful occurrences, which happened in France during my ſtay there: happy as I now feel myſelf in being ſafe in my own country—I can ſcarce help ſhuddering when I reflect on the ſituation I have been in—ſurrounded with danger, and in conſtant fear leaſt an unguarded expreſſion ſhould involve me in trouble, or worſe, perhaps death. The ſubverſion of ſuch a kingdom attended with all its horrid circumſtances to be particu-

lar in the recital of, would extend our correſpondence farther than either my time would permit, or you would have patience to attend—I will therefore confine myſelf to thoſe incidents which happened during the months of June, July, Auguſt and September, in the latter part of which I left Paris, for (as you will imagine when you have read what I ſhall write) I had ſeen enough.

It will be neceſſary before I proceed to particulars, to ſay ſomething of the different diſpoſitions of the people, in the ſeveral departments, as to their preſent rulers; or rather with reſpect to that government which apparently exiſted at the beginning of this year. For even admitting that the citizens of Paris, wherein is the ſeat of government, were of one mind in their choice of any eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, which, however, is very far from the caſe; ſuch unanimity would by no means juſtify the legiſlature in aſſerting that they were acting upon the joint ſuffrages of the nation; for Paris contains but a ſmall part of the inhabitants of France; admitting likewiſe that addreſſes may be tranſmitted from every department, approving of the legiſlative body and its decrees, ſuch addreſſes would never be received as the voice of the whole nation: for, in every department is formed a party or aſſociation, raiſed by, and connected with, the Jacobin

bin faction at Paris; and to these associations are immediately transmitted whatever resolutions or decrees are passed by the great party at home: they are, as La Fayette has very properly observed, composed chiefly of the inferior class of people, under the dominion of a few ambitious chiefs, and have the power, by the influence of their connections, of appointing the municipal officers in the departments, who are subject, through fear, to their controul. To the disgrace of the legislative power, they have sacrificed their independence to the influence of the Jacobins; who, by preaching up the rights of man, (which they seem to define the right to plunder,) liberty and equality, (and which they also construe, riot and disorder,) have gained the admiration of the thoughtless rabble, who applaud with rapture every sentiment calculated to inspire them with the love of anarchy, and the contempt of government. There are in this society of Jacobins, many members of the National Assembly, who have their evening societies, where they collect fresh fuel for the fire which the cool determined dictates of philosophy would otherwise extinguish. Thus is a connection formed between the National Assembly and the Jacobins by members, who, carrying with them into the former, the influence of the latter, become the ruling

and popular persons of the Senate; while those, who from principle and reason endeavour to oppose any violation of truth and justice, are stiled Aristocrats, and are treated with contempt by the patriots of the Assembly, and their venal multitudes; and are thereby condemned to silence, or the hazard of being marked, and held out as traitors to their country. By these means, the Jacobins having secured the approbation of the noisy and riotous part of the nation; whatever their votaries cause to be decreed in the National Assembly, they transmit to their associates, who, as the united voice of the people, return congratulatory addresses to the Assembly, as the *ostensible*, while the Jacobins are the *real* power that produces any important decree. During this time the moderate and quiet part of the nation are obliged to witness, and lament these tumults in silence, anxiously expecting and wishing for an opportunity of openly declaring their sentiments, and exchanging this horrid and enormous tyranny, for a regular, though despotic government. You will perhaps wish, as I have already said so much, and shall have occasion to say more of this society of the Jacobins, that I should give you a more particular account of it.

They

They take their name of Jacobins from a convent ſo called, in which they now hold their meetings. The hall where they debate, is fitted up for receiving the members, the number of whom may be at preſent I believe from four to five hundred, but as they are liable to frequent variations, as good ſenſe or infatuation preponderates there is no being certain; at the end of the hall galleries are erected for the accommodation of auditors and ſpectators; the walls are decorated with chains, and other emblematical engines of ſlavery, to keep them mindful of their former ſituation: above the Preſident's chair, hang the colours of France, America, and England; the ſtaves of which are united by a wreath, emblematical of the union of the three free countries; from the ceiling hangs the ſtandard of liberty, with this inſcription, "Vivre libre ou mourir:" there are beſides a variety of other imaginary trifles, not worth noticing. This Society was originally framed to watch over the conſtitution, to preſerve the power which the nation had reſpectively allotted to each department; and to defend the real liberties of the people. La Fayette, though one of its founders, was the firſt to accuſe it, in the paroxyſm of its degeneracy, for having been almoſt the only perſon in France, who, when the conſtitution was in the utmoſt danger,

had

had courage to declare his principles, and do his duty. He, who, when the factious party at Paris were preparing to break the oath they had moſt ſolemnly taken, and as ſolemnly repeated, when they were taking ſteps to overturn that conſtitution, which they had bound themſelves by the moſt ſacred of all poſſible obligations to defend; who, after having himſelf been maliciouſly ſlandered, reviled, and threatened by the Jacobins, and delivered over by their ſtatutes to the curſes and lawleſs villanies of the mob, had the ſpirit, unſupported, to appear in the midſt of his foes, and at the bar even of the National Aſſembly, accuſe that very ſociety as the ſource of all their diſorders; remind the repreſentatives of the nation of their moſt ſacred obligations which they appeared to have forgotten, or given up, and urge them to exert themſelves to ſave their country from deſtruction.

The principles upon which the Jacobin ſociety was originally formed, ſeems now to be given up. That which they now act upon, is the principle of reducing all to the ſame level; of aboliſhing all ſubordination among the people, and the armies; of preaching to all, that they have no ſuperiors nor ſhould they ever acknowledge any; that they have a natural birth-right to extirpate or deſtroy, by all means, thoſe who differ from them in opinion;

that

that religion is a name only, introduced by despots and tyrants, to persuade the people that they were lately dependant and enslaved by *one* power, that they themselves may more easily tyrannise over them. Thus having incensed the people against their Maker; they have expelled the Supreme Being from their minds, and erected an idol in his room. The laws of God, though not only consistent with, but really constituting the basis of, true liberty, were, according to their dictates, inconsistent with man's natural rights. By his laws, they were forbidden to take his name in vain, to steal, to rob, or to kill; they were bound to love, to honour, and obey him; and to do to others as they would that others should do to them; but these laws were too hard for men resolved to be *free*; they therefore expelled their Creator, laid aside alike all human and divine subjection, and wallowed in every kind of blasphemy, cruelty, and wickedness. The greater part of buildings that had been set apart for the worship of God, are thrown to the ground, and the materials sold, or made receptacles for clubs, where the breach of every moral and sacred duty is consulted with shocking audacity. Even the very image of our Saviour has not, in many places, escaped the dreadful infatuation of the rabble; the cap of liberty, and national

cockade,

cockade, now occupy the room of the representation of his sufferings and death.

Prior to the accomplishment of their last diabolical purpose, the Jacobins were loud in their invectives against all kings and monarchy; every thing that could be uttered to inflame the people against their king, was done without respect to truth or equity; they represented their sovereign as a traitor to the country, as one not merely uncapable to govern, but unfit to live. With what truth such a character could with any degree of propriety be ascribed to Louis the Sixteenth, his behaviour since he accepted of the constitution, will demonstrate. They had presented to him for his acceptance a new form of government, which they called *the constitution;* which comprised himself as King, with certain royal prerogatives: he accepted of this form of government, and swore to defend it; the legislative power, and the nation, took the same sacred oath; but it would seem they had forgotten, that in swearing to defend the constitution, the King obliged himself to protect his own person, his royal prerogatives, and the crown, as part of that government presented to him; and that they also were equally bound to preserve entire, his privileges. It would be no difficult business to prove that his attempt, to retain that power which the nation had

committed

him, and to use it for the benefit of his people in general, were the sole crimes which have produced to himself and his family such unheard of persecutions and distresses. Nor can he find friends to ward from him the stroke which threatens to fall on him for alleged treachery; to avow themselves his advisers, and invite upon their own heads the punishment of their sovereign's pretended crimes? There is not to be found one who dares avowedly and openly, at home, espouse his cause: they who partook of his favours are no longer to be seen, they have disappeared with the sun-shine which gave them birth.

I must now inform you, that in all the departments and towns, (even previous to those circumstances which have so terribly disgraced what they term their fourth year of liberty,) two parties existed, the aristocratic, and the democratic; the democratic party were chiefly of the lower order of people, or persons who chose to flatter the infatuated conduct of the rabble, to obtain power, or gratify ambition: their principle, if such a misnomer may be used, was to do every thing vile they could from their numbers; they pretended a strong attachment to the constitution; but that proceeded only from their regard to the licenciousness it sanctioned, under the gloss of liberty. For

 if

if they were asked what were the advantages which the revolution had procured, they could only reply, that they were free, and had now no longer any superiors. The aristocratic party not only consisted of those who were attached to the former government, but also of those who wished to preserve the constitution as it was at first established, and regarded the violation of rights, the infringements on the prerogatives of the King, and the insults offered to his person, as unconstitutional and unjust. The democratic party, however, dared to avow itself openly, because on their side was the military power, who no longer being subject to such severe discipline as formerly, found their account in the government, by being at liberty to refuse their obedience to orders, the execution of which might be disagreeable to them. To be suspected of aristocracy, was dangerous; to avow it, was death; and this in a country, which supposes, or pretends to suppose itself free. Can those advocates for France, who, after all her sacrileges and crimes, have not yet deserted her, describe what species of liberty can exist in a country, where not only the freedom of action, but the freedom of principle and opinion is not suffered; where a man is obliged to appear what he is not, to do what he does not wish, and what the laws do not only not demand,

mand, but even forbid, to ſave his property or life? For under the maſk of democracy, the ſpirit of ariſtocracy was frequently concealed: the moderate part of the people were obliged to *appear* democrates, but no power could repreſs what the mind revolved within itſelf. And what man of conſcience or honour, of reaſon, or of intereſt, could behold ſo beautiful and populous a country as France, governed by a rabble, its external and internal commerce almoſt deſtroyed, itſelf on the eve of bankruptcy, its money bearing ſixty or ſeventy per cent. diſcount; and be a friend to the government, or rather the anarchy, that was the cauſe of the calamities? Their expences at this time are enormous: the deſtruction of ſtatues, and the confiſcation of private property, are but preſent ſupplies, and cannot long furniſh them with the means of calling in and burning the paper money: the people muſt unavoidably, if they are not ſubdued very ſhortly, groan under a load of taxes as yet unknown. Taxes may change their name and form, and may be called by any other, but the effect will be the ſame. The word and the cap of liberty may continue among them, but, if I may judge, conquered or not conquered, France never will be free.

You may perceive by what I have ſaid, that under the preſent circumſtances, and the proſpect of

a more dreadful future, every honeſt man, every well-wiſher to France, is, when there, under the neceſſity of wearing the hypocritical vizor of democracy. This will be found productive of more injury to the preſent conſtitution, than is at this moment imagined; for it is by this that France deceives the world, and likewiſe herſelf. Where all are obliged to wear the ſame appearance, it is impoſſible to diſcover the various opinions that may be concealed under the ſame maſk; and it is as impoſſible without knowing the opinions of the people, to form any eſtimate of the ſafety or danger of a government. The time, perhaps, is not far diſtant, when opinions and ſentiments will be diſcloſed without reſerve, and France will be ſurpriſed to ſee her millions flock to the banners of royalty, whom ſhe had impoliticly obliged to rank themſelves under the cap of liberty.

But I will now proceed in my narrative.

For many years the Jacobins had been the ſecret, and had, at laſt, become the open enemies of the King; and finding that, under his reign, they could not practiſe every ſpecies of injuſtice which they meditated againſt all whom birth or merit had raiſed to a ſuperiority over them, they reſolved to dethrone him. But this could not be done conſtitutionally; it was therefore neceſſary for them to

procure

procure the assistance of the rabble: the citizens of Paris, however, were not so fully convinced of the perfidies and treacheries of Louis the Sixteenth, as the Jacobins endeavoured to persuade them; they had been witnesses of the conduct of their King, and the more enlightened part of them had discovered that he had done more for the real interests of the country than had been ascribed to him. They, therefore, were unfit for the diabolical purpose of the Jacobins. Under the pretence of defending Paris, in case of an invasion, they applied for a decree from the National Assembly, for the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men under its walls; which camp was to be formed of volunteers from the eighty-three departments.

The decree as you may have heard was passed by the Assembly, and the defence of Paris being the only ostensible cause of it, and that appearing absurd and unnecessary, violent exclamations were immediately raised against it; and, during the first part of the month of June, much of the time of the National Assembly was taken up in hearing petitions for its repeal. The National Parisian Guard were among the first to object to it; they were ready, they said, and, as they thought, sufficient to defend Paris in case of attack; they observ'd that the idea of forming a camp under its walls

must

muſt have originated from a ſuſpicion either of their courage, or their honour; they aſſured the National Aſſembly that they were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in defence of the conſtitution, and begged that the protection of the capital might be left to their care. They added, that if an additional army was neceſſary, that army ſhould be raiſed and ſent to the frontiers, to aſſiſt in preventing the entrance of the enemy; and not wait inactively till the enemy had entered and proceeded as far as Paris.

A variety of petitions ſent to the National Aſſembly ſoon after the paſſing the decree, were filled with theſe remonſtrances; one of which was preſented in the name of eight thouſand of the National Guard. No one, but thoſe immediately concerned in planning it, could divine any uſe or reaſon for this camp: the general cry was againſt it, as a meaſure impolitic and unneceſſary. The decree was preſented to the King, who, knowing that ſuch a camp could be of no ſervice to the nation in general, knowing likewiſe the hatred which the Jacobins had manifeſted toward his conſtitutional authority, and the frequent attacks they had made upon it; and wiſely foreſeeing the fatal conſequences to himſelf, ſhould ſo large a body of men be ſuffered to aſſemble in Paris, under the immediate

diate influence of the Jacobins, refuſed his ſanction to it. In acting thus he exerted no other power than what the conſtitution had delegated to him, and which power, when he could no longer doubt, that whatever might be the oſtenſible reaſon for the formation of a camp of twenty thouſand men under the walls of Paris, the real motive could only be to attack by violence that part of the conſtitution which he was eſſentially bound to defend, —it was his undoubted duty to enforce.

But this outcry which was raiſed againſt the decree was ſoon changed into a greater of approbation; the National Guards, who were now on all occaſions ſtiled the *brave* National Guards of Paris, had been flattered into the conviction that the idea of the camp had not originated from a ſuſpicion of their courage or integrity; every argument and flowery expreſſion that could be invented, was adduced to convince the people of the neceſſity of this camp, which the Jacobins plainly proved from the King's having refuſed to ſanction it. The French are the ſlaves to words, they ſeldom reaſon, they catch the idea as it firſt preſents itſelf, and act from the immediate impulſe of the moment; but a glowing ſentiment, a well turned phraſe, cloaked with the imagery of liberty, will, right or wrong, convert them in an inſtant, and make them

as

as violent in favour of any meaſure, as they had before been outrageous againſt it: it appeared plainly in this inſtance; the bar of the National Aſſembly became now as crowded with petitioners approving of the decree, as it had the day before been with thoſe that were againſt it: they who had oppoſed it were reprobated; and many who had ſigned the petition of eight thouſand, threatened thoſe who induced them to ſign it, and ſent to the Aſſembly retracting their ſignatures.

Thoſe miniſters of the Jacobin party who had propoſed the decree to the Aſſembly, and had been exclaimed againſt by the people, and alſo diſmiſſed by the King, were now as warmly applauded as they had been before condemned; and the National Aſſembly decreed that they left the miniſtry with the regret of the nation.

Nothing now ſeemed to oppoſe the Jacobins in the accompliſhment of their ſchemes. The guard which the conſtitution had granted to the King of 1200 foot and 600 horſe, had been removed from the palace, left, being paid from the funds of the civil liſt, they might be found too faithful to the hand that fed them, and too much attached to their King, whoſe virtues and ſufferings they conſtantly beheld, to ſuffer any inſult to be offered to his perſon while they had the power of preventing it.

The

The voice of the public being in favour of the decree, every endeavour was used to exasperate the people against their King, (who had now no other than the honorary guard furnished him by the citizens), for refusing his sanction to it. The attention of the National Assembly was disgraced by listening to the most virulent execrations against the King; every man, into whose mouth had been put phrases full of invectives against royalty, was received with unbounded applause, and invited to the honours of the sitting.

I will finish this letter with a speech which will serve sufficiently to display the tendency of the others delivered at this period, and which, by its audacious perversion of facts, its pompous declarations of patriotism and courage, will prepare you for the attrocious deeds which followed in a few days.

It was delivered at the bar of the National Assembly, on Sunday, the 17th of June, by a citizen of the section; De la Croix Rouge.

" Truth may displease the too delicate ears of the King, but our legislators cannot fail to make it welcome.

" During four years, the people have been environed with plots which seem to be favoured, seconded, and prepared by those who surround the executive power. What mischievous genius con-

 ducts

ducts the actions of Louis the Sixteenth? We have forgiven his perjuries, we have placed him upon the moſt glorious throne in the world, and he is forgetful of all theſe benefits.

"You have paſſed two uſeful decrees *, and he refuſes to ſanction them! You have removed from him a guard audaciouſly ariſtocratic, and he thanks them for their conduct by a public proclamation! Good miniſters compoſed his council, and he diſmiſſes them!

"This inconceivable obſtinacy in continually oppoſing evil to good, can no longer be tolerated: we muſt dart terror into the ſouls of conſpirators; we muſt undeceive thoſe madmen who ſtill indulge the fooliſh hope of a modification.

"Let them learn at laſt our reſolutions; it is over the dead bodies of every free Frenchman that they muſt triumph, and the conſtitution ſhall never periſh but after its laſt defender. Awake, legiſlators! and give us the means of executing our reſolutions.

"Grant to the aſſemblies of the ſections the permanence we have ſo often demanded. It is in theſe aſſemblies that your defenders will always be found ready and armed; whoſe impoſing attitude and countenance

* The other was againſt the refractory prieſts.

countenance alone will trample your enemies in the duſt."

I am, Sir,

Your moſt affectionate,

LETTER II.

DEAR SIR,

I FINISHED my laſt with the ſpeech of M. De la Croix Rouge.—I will now proceed.

Circumſtances were in the ſituation I have mentioned, when La Fayette, who viewed the proceedings of the Jacobins in their proper light, and trembled for the ſafety of his royal maſter, while unmindful of his own, but attached ſolely to the conſtitution which he had ſworn to defend, and the violation of which he ſaw was threatened, wrote to the King and the National Aſſembly the two following letters:

Letter of M. La Fayette *to the* King, *sent with a Copy of his Letter to the* National Assembly.

At the intrenched Camp of Maubeuge,
16th of June, 1792.
The Fourth Year of Liberty.

Sire,

I have the honour of sending to your Majesty the copy of a letter which I have written to the National Assembly, in which it will find the expression of those sentiments which have animated my whole life. The King knows with what ardour, with what confidence I have been at all times devoted to the cause of liberty, to the sacred prinicples of humanity, equality and justice. He knows that I have always been the adversary of factions, the enemy of licentiousness; and that any power that I thought illegal, never was acknowledged by me: he knows my devotion to his constitutional authority, and my attachment to his person. These, Sire, are the principles which compose the basis of my letter to the National Assembly, and which will ever be the dictators of my conduct toward my country and your Majesty, in the midst of those storms which so many hostile and factious combinations attract at once around us.

It does not behove me, Sire, to give my opinions or my actions, any greater importance than the

the insulated conduct of a simple citizen ought to experience; but the expression of my thoughts wa always a right, and, on this occasion, becomes a duty: and although I should have fulfilled it sooner, if my voice, instead of making itself heard in the midst of a camp, could have issued from the depth of a retreat from which the dangers of my country have hurried me; I do not think any public employment, any personal consideration, can excuse me from exercising this duty of a citizen, this right of a free man.

Persist, Sire, by the force of that authority which the national will has delegated to you, in the generous resolution of defending the principles of the constitution against all its enemies; let that resolution, supported by every action of your private life, as well as by a firm and complete exercise of the royal power, become the pledge of a harmony, which, particularly in every critical moment, cannot fail to establish itself between the elected representatives of the people and their hereditary representative. It is on this resolution, Sire, that the glory and the safety of the nation and yourself depend. By that you will find all the true friends of liberty, all the honest Frenchmen, ranged about your throne, to defend it against the conspiracies of rebels, and the enterprizes of the factious.

And

And I, Sire, who in their honourable hatred have found the recompense of my persevering opposition, I shall deserve it always by my zeal in serving the cause to which my whole life is devoted, and by my fidelity to the oath I have given to the Nation, the Law, and the King.

Such, Sire, are the unalterable sentiments, of which I offer to your Majesty the homage, with that of my respect.

(Signed). LA FAYETTE.

Letter of M. LA FAYETTE *to the* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, *read at the Sitting of the* 18*th of June*, 1792.

At the intrenched Camp of Maubeuge,
16th of June, 1792.
The Fourth Year of Liberty.

GENTLEMEN,

At the moment, perhaps too long delayed, when I was about to call your attention to very interesting national concerns, and to point out, among our other dangers, the conduct of a ministry which my correspondence has for a long time accused, I learn that, unmasked by its division, it has fallen a victim to its own intrigues; for, without doubt,

It is not by ſacrificing three of his colleagues, devoted by their inſignificance to his power, that the leaſt excuſable, the moſt notorious of thoſe miniſters, ſhall have cemented his equivocal and ſcandalous exiſtence in the council of the King.

It is not, however, ſufficient that that branch of government ſhould be delivered from a fatal influence; the public cauſe is in danger; the fate of France is in the hands of its repreſentatives; the nation expects from them its ſafety; but in giving itſelf a conſtitution, it has preſcribed to them the only means by which they are enabled to ſave it.

Perſuaded, Gentlemen, that as the rights of man are the law of the whole conſtituent Aſſembly, a conſtitution becomes the law of the legiſlators it has eſtabliſhed, it is to yourſelves that I ought to denounce the too powerful efforts that are made to eſtrange you from that rule which you have promiſed to follow.

Nothing ſhall prevent me from exerciſing that right of a free man, from fulfilling that duty of a citizen: neither the momentary wanderings of opinion; for what are opinions that eſcape from principle? nor my reſpect for the repreſentatives of the people; for I reſpect ſtill more the people, of whom the conſtitution is the ſupreme wiſh: nor the good-will that you have conſtantly expreſſed towards me;

for

for I wish to preserve it, as I acquired it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

Your circumstances are difficult; France is threatened from without, and agitated within: while foreign courts announce the intolerable project of aiming at onr national sovereignty, and declare themselves the enemies of France, our interior enemies, intoxicated with fanaticism and pride, entertain a chimerical hope, and distress us with their insolent malevolence.

You ought, Gentlemen, to suppress them, and you will only have the power to do so, by continuing to act constitutionally and justly.

You wish it, no doubt: but turn your observation to what passes in your own bosom and around you.

Can you conceal from yourselves that a faction, and, to avoid vague denominations, that the faction of the Jacobins has been the cause of all the disorders? It is that which I most fervently accuse. Organized like a separate empire, in its metropolitan society and its affiliations, blindly directed by a few ambitious chiefs, that sect forms a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, whose powers it usurps by subjugating their representatives and their mandators.

It is there that in the public fittings the love of the laws is called ariſtocracy, and the infraction of them patriotiſm; there the aſſaſſins of Deſilles receive their triumphs, the crimes of Jourdan find their panegyriſts; there the account of the aſſaſſination which has defiled the town of Metaz, has juſtly excited infernal acclamations.

Will they think to eſcape from theſe reproaches, by preſuming on an Auſtrian manifeſto in which they are named? Are they become ſacred becauſe Leopold has pronounced their name? And becauſe we ought to combat foreigners who interfere with our diſputes, can we diſpenſe with delivering our country from domeſtic tyrants?

What have the plans of foreigners, their connivance with counter-revolutioniſts, and their influence over the luke-warm friends of liberty, to do with this duty? It is I who denounce this ſect before you; I, who without ſpeaking of my paſt life, can anſwer to thoſe who pretend to ſuſpect me: "Approach in this moment of criſis, in which the "character of every one is about to be known, "and let us ſee which of us more inflexible in his "principles, and more obſtinate in his reſiſtance, "will better brave thoſe obſtacles and thoſe dan-"gers which traitors conceal from their country,

"but which every brave citizen knows well how "to calculate and meet for her."

And how could I longer delay fulfilling this duty, when every day weakens the conſtituted authorities, and ſubſtitutes the ſpirit of party for the will of the people; when the audacity of the diſturbers of the peace impoſes ſilence on every peaceable citizen, baniſhes every uſeful man, and when the devotedneſs of ſectaries takes place of every public and private virtue, which ought to be the reſerved and only means of attaining to the firſt functions of government.

It is after having oppoſed to every obſtacle, to every ſnare, the perſevering patriotiſm of an army, ſacrificed perhaps to combinations againſt its general, that I can now oppoſe to that faction, the correſpondence of a miniſtry, the worthy produce of its club; that correſpondence, of which all the calculations are falſe, the promiſes vain, and the ſecurities deceitful or frivolous, the advices perfidious or contradictory; in which, after having urged me to advance without precautions, and attack without means, they were beginning to tell me that reſiſtance would ſoon become impoſſible,—when my indignation rejected that cowardly aſſertion.

What

What a remarkable conformity of language there is, Gentlemen, between the factious whom the Aristocracy avow, and those who usurp the name of patriots! Both wish to overthrow our laws, to divert themselves with our disorders, rise up against the authorities which the people have composed, detest the National Guard, preach indiscipline to the army, and sow among them at one moment distrust, and at another discouragement.

With respect to me, Gentlemen, who espoused the American cause, even at the moment when its ambassadors declared to me it was lost; who, from that time, devoted myself to a persevering defence of liberty, and the sovereignty of the people; who, on the 11th of July, 1789, in presenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to tell her—"for a nation to be free, it is sufficient that "she wills to be so!" I come to day, full of confidence in the justice of our cause, of contempt for the cowards that desert it, and indignation against the traitors who wish to defile it; I come to declare that the French nation, if it be not the vilest in the universe, can, and ought to resist the combination of Kings who have conspired against her.

It is not in the midst of my brave army, that timid sentiments are permitted: patriotism, energy, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, and every

virtue, civil and military, I find here. Here the principles of liberty and equality are cherifhed, the laws are refpected, and properties are facred; here we are neither acquainted with calumnies nor factions: and when I think that France has feveral millions of men, who might become fuch foldiers, I afk myfelf, "to what degree of degradation muft "an immenfe people be reduced, a people ftronger "by their natural refources than by their artificial "defences, and oppofing to a diftorted confedera-"tion the advantage of united combinations, when "the cowardly idea of facrificing their fovereignty, "of trampling upon their liberty, and of capitula-"ting a declaration of their rights, can appear "one of the future poffibilities, which advance "with rapidity upon us."

But in order that we, foldiers of liberty, may fight with efficacy, or die with advantage to our country, it is neceffary that the number of its defenders fhould be quickly proportioned to that of its adverfaries; that the quantity of provifions of every kind fhould be increafed, and facilitate our motions; that the food of the troops, their furniture, their pay, the cares relative to their health, fhould no longer be fubject to fatal delays or pretended fparings, which turn in an inverfe direction from their end.

It

It is especially necessary that the citizens rallied about the constitution, should be assured that the rights which it guarantees will be respected with a religious fidelity, which will ensure the despair of our concealed and public enemies.

Reject not this prayer! it is that of the sincere friends of your legitimate authority. Assured that no unjust consequence can flow from a pure principle, that no tyrannical measure can serve a cause that owes its strength and its glory to the sacred basis of liberty and equality, procure that criminal justice may take against its constitutional direction; that civil equality, that religious liberty, may enjoy the entire application of true principles.

That the royal power may be inviolate, for it is guaranteed by the constitution; that it may be independent, for that independence is one of the springs of our liberty; that the King may be respected, for he is invested with the Majesty of the Nation; that he may choose a ministry that bears not the chains of any faction; and that, if there exist conspirators, they may perish only under the sword of the law.

At last, that the reign of clubs (annihilated by you) may give place to the reign of the law; their usurpations, to the firm and independent exercise of the constituted authorities; their disorganizing maxims,

maxims, to the true principles of liberty; their infatuated fury, to the calm and conſtant courage of a nation, that knows its rights and defends them; and laſtly, their ſectarian combinations, to the true intereſts of the country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to reunite all thoſe to whom its ſlavery and ruin are not the objects of an atrocious rejoicing and infamous ſpeculation.

Such are, Gentlemen, the repreſentations and petitions that a citizen, whoſe love of liberty muſt be indiſputable, ſubmits to the National Aſſembly, as he has already ſubmitted them to the King; a citizen whom the different factions would hate the leſs, if he were not ſuperior to them by his diſintereſtedneſs; whom ſilence would have better ſuited, if, like ſo many others, he had been indifferent to the glory of the National Aſſembly, and the confidence with which it is neceſſary that it ſhould be ſurrounded; and who could not have better teſtified his own confidence in it, than by ſpeaking the truth without diſguiſe.

Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates of my conſcience and my oaths. It was a duty I owed to the country, to you, to the King, and to myſelf, whom the chances of war permit not to adjourn thoſe obſervations I think uſeful, and who love to think that the National Aſſembly will find

in

in them a new proof of my devotion to its constitutional authority, of my personal gratitude and respect.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

It was a satisfaction to notice at the time the above letter was read in the National Assembly, that some of its members had yet preserved sense and courage enough, to acknowledge by their applauses the truth and justice of the observations it contained; for although, I am sorry to observe it, few I believe would have dared themselves to have made a similar proposition; yet, when such a proposition was once made, there were many ready to defend and support it;—to every honest man the letter appeared as a signal to recal him to his duty, and perseverance in the just cause: but in this Assembly, unjustly stiled of free debate, when any known protector of the laws arose, and was about to plead in defence of the constitution, and consequently of that part of it to which the executive power was entrusted, he was immediately interrupted and silenced by the tumults of the Assembly and the hisses of the tribunes, who were hired to support the Patriots and confound the Aristocrats, by their vociferous acclamations.

Such

Such was the ſituation at the time La Fayette's letter arrived; which, as you may ſuppoſe, excited the moſt violent indignation of the Jacobins; they repreſented him as a traitor to the country, joined with the King and the Ariſtocracy to enſlave the nation, by procuring the abolition of the popular ſocieties, by which they maintained, that the ſpirit of liberty could alone be kept alive; they accuſed him of attempting to gain an influence over the National Aſſembly, by dictating terms to them at the head of his army; and they who had entirely rendered the Aſſembly dependent on themſelves, were, on this occaſion, the firſt to aſſert its independence. There were ſome of the patriots, who had the baſeneſs, a baſeneſs to which cowardly cunning frequently applies, to pretend that they had too good an opinion of La Fayette to believe that the letter was of his writing. They affirmed that the letter muſt have been forged; that it was impoſſible that a man who had ſhewn himſelf ſo much the friend of liberty, who had ſo long been honoured with the love and confidence of the people, could betray them at the time of their greateſt danger: they knew that La Fayette muſt ſoon avow the letter, and thought that by crying him up to the people in the mean time, as a man totally incapable of ſuch unprecedented treachery as they

repreſented

represented it, their indignation would be the greater when assured of his being the author of it. Such complicated villany had, however, at last, the effect it was intended to have: the National Assembly declined deciding on the letter, till they were sure it was authentic. But the Jacobins, in the mean time, used every artifice their revenge could suggest to procure a burst of indignation in the populace on the avowal of it.

The attention of the populace was, however, not so much taken up by the letter of La Fayette, as to make them forget the sanction which the King had refused to the decree concerning the camp of twenty thousand men.

It was publicly known that the citizens were to assemble on the 20th. By a petition from the Fauxbourgs, the corporation had received advice of it on the 16th. They well knew that, under the pretence of presenting a petition, the populace had an intention, perfectly understood by the chiefs of the municipality: they contented themselves, however, with passing to the order of the day.

It was reported on Tuesday the 19th, that the populace intended to plant under the windows of the palace, not the poplar, the tree of liberty which it was their custom to plant on such occasions, but an aspin-tree. The thought diverted their trifling

 minds,

minds, and seemed the presage of declining royalty. The Jacobins, spirited up by Danton, Lasource and Santerre, made the hall of their society resound with horrible imprecations against the King. The letter of La Fayette had electrified them, and Lasource made a motion, that any man who chose might assassinate him with impunity.

The people's minds were in this state of agitation, when a grand repast, on Tuesday the 19th, at which were about five hundred persons, was held in the Elysian Fields. The people came to take a part in the rejoicing of their representatives. Dugazon sung, and Anacharsis Cloots drank toasts; Cloots, the Prussian, who two days before had proposed to cashier the King, and name M. Roland chief of the executive power, with a revenue of three hundred thousand livres.

In the evening of the same day, the Capuchin Deputy Chabot busied himself in inflaming the minds of the people of the Fauxbourg St Antoine: for this pious purpose, he took possession of a pulpit in one of the churches, that of L'Eglise des Enfans trouves, from which he held forth to them, for more than two hours, on the lawfulness of insurrection, and the duty and necessity they were under of doing themselves justice by enforcing the King to sanction the decree. His discourse was in

every

every particular calculated to enflame the people against the King, whom he held out to them as a uſeleſs being, impeding the wheels of government, and an enemy to the conſtitution.

However, an order had been juſt paſſed by the directory of the department, (leſs tumultuouſly factious than the municipality,) to prevent unlawful aſſemblies, and repreſs the diſturbers of the public peace. After the reading of this order, the aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day; which order was to hear an incendiary petition from the Jacobins of Marſeilles, worded as follows:

"LEGISLATORS!

Liberty is in danger! The free men of the ſouth are armed to defend it! The day of the people's paſſion is arrived! The people are tired of parrying blows; they are reſolved to give them.

The people are tired of being the ſport of conſpiracies! They have caſt a terrible frown on the conſpirators. Favour, Legiſlators, the warlike ſentiment that animates them. You have the ſtrength of the people in your hands, employ it! A longer conſtraint may weaken the ſprings of it. We will give no more quarter, ſince we no longer expect quarter.

The French people demand of you a decree, authoriſing them to march toward the capital and the

 frontiers,

frontiers, with forces ſtill more impoſing than thoſe you have juſt decreed. The people are determined to finiſh the Revolution; ought you to prevent that ſublime work? Can you, Legiſlature? No! you will not refuſe the authority of the law to thoſe who will die in its defence!"

This it was decreed ſhould be printed and ſent to the eighty-three departments. It was under ſuch auſpices that the morning of the 20th aroſe. But as this day requires a particular deſcription, and ſhould not be interrupted, I will here cloſe this letter, and make it the ſubject of my next—with every reſpect, I remain,

Dear Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER III.

DEAR SIR,

I WILL now go on with what happened on the 20th of June.

The procurer General-Syndic, M. Rœderer, made his appearance at the bar of the National Aſſembly, to inform them of the different multitudes that were collected together in the fauxbourgs, in

conſequence

consequence of the silent permission of the municipality and the Assembly, and of the instructions of three members, who, from six o'clock in the morning, had been on the place of the Bastile, which had been appointed for their rendezvous. M. Rœderer informed the senate of his fears, that this crowd of people intended proceeding to the palace to present a petition, in arms; he prayed the Assembly not to receive them, and thus to maintain the law of the constitution. During the time they were debating on the advice of M. Rœderer, Santerre, a brewer and commander of the battalion of the fauxbourg St Antoine, arrived at the head of his troop, and sent to the Assembly, desiring permission to appear at the bar, and afterwards to introduce his troop. Mr Lasource ascended the tribune, and informed the Assembly that he had conversed with Santerre, and could assure them from him that the intention of the citizens was not to proceed to the palace, but to leave with the legislative power, the address they wished to present to the King.

In the midst of the contest whether they should be admitted or not, as the law actually forbids any number of citizens to appear armed before the legislative body. The President informed them that the troop consisted of eight thousand men, who demand-

ed

ed permiſſion to appear. Some members requir
that their admiſſion ſhould be put to the vote; other
that the aſſembly ſhould break up. The Preſiden
obſerved that they were at the door, and were waiting
and twenty-five millions of men, added M. Ramond
are alſo waiting, and bind you to your duties.—Som
required that the petitioners ſhould be ordered t
lay down their arms, and that they ſhould be in
formed that the ſtep they had taken was unlawfu
others, that they ſhould be admitted as they were
Great tumults aroſe in the Aſſembly, and the di
cuſſion might have laſted much longer, had not th
petitioners taken the readieſt way of putting an en
to it, by making their appearance. The orato
read a memorial of eight pages. It was writte
with blood; and every line of it ſeemed a ſentenc
of deſtruction againſt the court and palace. Th
Aſſembly and the tribunes applauded loudly. Sa
terre demanded and obtained permiſſion to introduc
his troop; they came, and in an inſtant, the are
of the ſenate-houſe was filled with the loweſt rabb
that Paris could produce, preceded by, and inter
ſperſed with a few National Guards, to give the
at leaſt the appearance of legality. Saint Hurug
and Santerre were at their head. Among the
were chimney-ſweepers, colliers, ſtreetporters; fom
men half naked, carrying their rags upon the poin

f a pike; negroe women, common proſtitutes and thers; armed with hooks, ſwords, pincers, ſcyhes, forks, twibills, bludgeons, pickaxes, ſpits, pikes, nd a variety of new invented inſtruments of cruelty and deſtruction: ſome of them carried on their ikes bits of bread, cheeſe, and other articles of ood; ſome bonnets of various colours, ſome treaſnable inſcriptions and one of them a pair of raged breeches. Such was the troop of wretches hat remained during three hours in the hall of the Aſſembly, and which came to preſent to the alarned repreſentatives, a ſpecimen of the camp they emanded at the gates of Paris.

Of this ſort were the people, who cauſed all the hops to be ſhut up, on the 14 July 1789 and by he alarm they inſpired raiſed an univerſal and arned inſurrection, which became, they themſelves now not how, a wonderful Revolution.

The Palace and Garden of the Thuilleries were urrounded on all ſides by the National Guards; he three regiments of the line at Paris were under rms; three thouſand of the cavalry of the Genlarmerie formed a triple line of battle before the oyal court; two hundred Swiſs guarded the court of the Queen, and the court of Marſan; and twenty pieces of cannon in different ſituations about the

palace,

palace, it ſhould ſeem ought to have been ſufficient to have protected the avenues of it.

A great concourſe of people had collected around the gate of the garden that fronts the Pont Royal; thouſands had been admitted, but the gate had ſince been ſhut, and orders had been given to admit no more. There were at leaſt four thouſand of the National Guards drawn up cloſe to it; the mob demanded admittance, which being refuſed, they burſt the gate open, and poured into the gardens with the loudeſt acclamations of triumph.

The guard appointed at the avenue by the Place of Louis the Fifteenth, had indeed better executed their orders; they had planted the cannon ſo as perfectly to command the entrance; and a numerous guard prevented the admiſſion of every one, but the armed rabble, who marched in continually to partake, of and ſhare, in the ſport prepared for them by Santerre's troop.

Near forty thouſand of the armed rabble had aſſembled in the gardens of the Thuilleries and the Place de Carouſel, about two o'clock; they who were in the gardens having united, marched along the front line of the National Guards who were drawn up before the palace, covering the whole front, and the national colours ſaluted them as they paſſed in ſign of union, till they came up to the gren-

adiers,

adiers, who refuſed to wave their colours; the mob inſtantly wheeled about, and after a few turns about the garden, prepared for their entrance into the palace.

The three regiments of the line had now arrived, and having marched up cloſe to the National Guards, halted, and ranged themſelves in a line at right angles with the palace.

There were with the king at this time M. de Wittenghoff, lieutenant general of the diviſion of Paris; M. de Romainvilliers, commandant of the National Guards; Meſſrs. Acloque and Mandat, ſecondary chiefs, but they had with them neither adjutants, nor aids de camp, and very few officers.

The marechals De Mailly, De Mouchy, and De Bauveau, with near a hundred and fifty other gentlemen were in the apartments, ready to form a rampart with their bodies around the King. During the whole morning the National Guard in the courts had expreſſed a diſpleaſure at their appearance; their black dreſſes had excited the frequent cry of *a bas la culotte*. The King, recollecting the ſcenes that took placeon the 28th of February, and being unwilling to ſee the innocent perſecuted under his eyes, and become ſacrifices to the lawleſs indignation of the multitude,

 deſired

desired them to quit his apartment; they who were immediately in his service also received orders to quit the palace, and the King remained almost alone in it.

Those friends of the throne, who had gathered together to protect it on the 28th of Feburary had at least the consolation of perceiving that the insults they received had saved his Majesty from outrage and ignominy; but now they could not hope to draw on themselves alone the violence of the faction; but this idea did not diminish their sorrows or their uneasinesses.

While the King was at dinner the rabble had all assembled, after having frequently marched about from place to place, in the Place de Carousel and the terrace of the garden. A great noice was heard, and the royal palace was attacked.

The Gendarmerie who were without had received orders to load their arms; but some refused to do it, others threw their powder on the ground; some tore their cartridges and threw away the balls, others hoisted and wav'd their hats on the points of their bayonets, and every thing proved to the populace that they were on their side. This scene passed under the eyes of their brave and respectable commander M. de Rulhieres, who was trembling with indignation against them. The royal

gate

gate was opened by the porter and the guards, alarmed no doubt at the threats of the populace, and the pikes they presented at them.

As soon as the armed rabble appeared in the courts, it was said in the palace that the King was delivered up to them. The dinner was interrupted; all was in commotion; every one was seeking orders; nobody gave them, and the confusion began.

The pikemen endeavouring to advance were at first stopped by the cannoniers, in the royal court, who began charging their cannon. But a line of National Guards which reached from the court-gate to the Cafe de Carousel would have prevented them from firing; besides, they were without orders, and restrained by a diversity of opinion; they soon ceased from their manœuvres, and the populace entered.

At the same time, the people on the terrace (on the opposite side of the palace) surmounted every effort that was made to oppose them: the guards attempted to shut the iron-gate; but it was too late; the rabble had already filled the portico, they rushed up the staircase, and penetrated into the palace.

While this was effecting, the King was a spectator of all that had passed in the courts from the apartments of M. Tourteau de Septeuil, his valet

de chambre. He then went into a room, the door of which, attacked from without, was defended by a party of National Grenadiers.

The populace about this time, brought a cannon by ſtrength of arm into the hall of the guards. The King advancing to the door, ſaid, "I will go to them, I will prevent them from breaking open the door: come to me, grenadiers; I wiſh only for four, and let the door be opened." According to his deſire, they opened the door, and at the very moment, a pike which had been directed againſt it, finding no reſiſtance, would have pierced the King, but was prevented by a chaſſeur, who turned it aſide with his hand.

What I am now going to relate, will, I make no doubt, raiſe thoſe feelings for this unfortunate man in you, which I felt at the time, and which the recital of them renews.

He was immediately led by thoſe who ſurrounded him to the further end of the room, where he ſtopt, defended by four grenadiers, and leaning on M. Acloque. Madame Elizabeth, who had not quitted him during the whole day, remained at the entrance of the apartment at the firſt window, ſupported by M. de Marcilly, and thoſe who entered were obliged to paſs by her, before they could arrive at the ſpot where the King was.

The

The pikemen, notwithſtanding their aſſurance, were aſhamed of finding themſelves there, and ſtood for ſome time aſtoniſhed and confuſed; and the greater part of them preſented only the ſpectacle of folly, curioſity and ſurpriſe. The butcher Legendre now arrived with a troop of his friends; one of whom preſented to the King a red cap; which one of the grenadiers endeavouring to put aſide with his hand, was wounded in the arm by the thruſt of a pike. Another man came up, and offered the King a bottle, deſiring him to drink to the health of the nation. Some one offered to fetch a glaſs; the King refuſed the offer; and immediately, without fear or reluctance, he applied the impure veſſel to his auguſt lips, and drank of the uncertain liquor. One of the grenadiers aſked, as a favour, the honour of drinking after his maſter; he was worthy of obtaining it, and it was granted: one of the mob, taking advantage of this moment of confuſion, placed himſelf the red cap upon the head of the King; he put it on, preſſing with his hands the temples of his maſter.

What a ſituation was this, that forehead, which formerly had been crowned, was now covered with the groſs emblem of licentiouſneſs, the King was raiſed upon a ſtool, as an object of contempt, and preſented to the populace, who loaded him with

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the moſt undeſerved reproaches: ſome of them threatened him with their brandiſhed arms, and had the audacity to tell him, that the meaſure of his crimes was at the full, and that he ought to yield up his head upon the ſcaffold. The King replied to them in the moſt feeling tone: "Alas! if nothing but my head was neceſſary for the good of France, with what joy would I offer it a ſacrifice." The ferocious wretches replied only to those paternal words with a cry of "a la lanterne, a la lanterne!

The throng now increaſed; tumultuouſly breaking in on all ſides, and in all parts: the windows, the roofs, the balconies, the parapets, every part of the palace was inveſted by this riotous and dirty rabble. Some were dancing on the leads, others were employed in erecting a pole, from which was ſuſpended a pair of breeches, on the top of the palace, as an emblem of the victory the ſans-culottes had gained; and many in chalking or ſcratching on the walls of the palace, the moſt infamous and treaſonable falſehoods againſt the King and Queen: while books, entitled, "The perfidies of Louis the Sixteenth," filled with the moſt ſcandalous invectives, had been printed for the occaſion, and were ſelling at low prices among the people in the garden, and

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handed up by pikes and hooks to the rabble in the apartments.

Things were in this ſituation, when the National Aſſembly, perceiving, too late, the folly of their conduct, reſolved at leaſt to repair it, by a ſuperior method to that which the Conſtituent Aſſembly adopted on a ſimilar occaſion. Mirabeau was no longer there to teach the legiſlative power that it was inconſiſtent with its dignity to attend the hereditary repreſentative of the nation. Deputations were, therefore, ſent ſucceſſively to interpoſe between the people and their King. Some of the rabble demanded, from time to time, that the two vetos, that reſpecting the camp, and that reſpecting the prieſts, ſhould be withdrawn; to theſe they added a wiſh for the recal of the three ſeditious miniſters.

Theſe oral demands were ſupported every now and then by notes written with pencils, which the factious on the terrace, handed up to thoſe in the apartments.

To all their demands the King replied, that his attachment to the conſtitution was inviolable, and that whatever they had to aſk, that was not the moment for them to propoſe, or him to grant it. Iſnard and Vergniaux confirmed theſe truths to the people; and this people, who at bottom cared ve-

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ry little about M. Roland, M. Claviere and M. Servan, replied disdainfully to Vergniaux and Isnard, "that is your business, do as you please; it is only by you and for you that we came here."

The Mayor of Paris, whose business it was, (had he attended to his duty more than his party principles,) to have prevented these shocking scenes, at last came in: applauded by the rabble as he passed through the courts, he observed to them that he had only done his duty, that he was sensible of their kind approbation and applause, and other such trifling nonsenses. Having arrived at the spot where the King still remained, he mounted on a stool, recommended moderation to the crowd, and had the impudence to observe to the King, that he had nothing to fear. Vexed at such an observation, the King put his hand upon his breast, and said to M. Petion, with emotion, "The honest man who has a pure conscience, knows no fear nor regret; it is they only who have any thing to reproach themselves with, who have reason to fear. Hold, my friend," added he, taking the hand of a grenadier who was near him, "give me your hand, put it on my heart, and tell me if it beats faster than usual."

The night was now approaching when the rabble began to withdraw, and at last permitted the

King

King to breathe, after five hours of anguish. The Mayor of Paris finished his guilty day by a speech to the people: these were his words: "Citizens, men and women, you began the day with dignity and wisdom; you have proved that you are free; finish it with the same dignity, and do, like me,—go to bed."

At the time the people first began to force their way into the palace, the queen, who had been with the King in the apartments of M. Septeuil, found herself separated from him, after he had ran to present himself before the rabble who were breaking down the doors with clubs and hatchets. Madame Elizabeth had followed the footsteps of her august brother, together with M. Marcilly, and M. de Saint Pardoux, her pages. She had arrived in time to be a witness of the horrid scene that had taken place at the opening of the doors, when one of the savages rushing in among the first, exclaimed "Where is he, that I may kill him!" brandishing in his hand a stick armed with the blade of a sword. He made a thrust at the King. A brave man, Conolle, a National Guard, not only turned aside the weapon, but rushing on the regicide, seized him, and made him fall on his knees before the King, obliging him to cry, "Vive le Roi!" This gallant action so much astonished the rabble that were with

 him,

him, that they remained for ſome time confounded and ſtupified: and it was, perhaps, to this courageous conduct, that the royal family chiefly owed its ſafety.

The Queen, notwithſtanding all her efforts, had not been able to prevail upon thoſe who accompanied her, to ſuffer her to follow her huſband when he preſented himſelf before the rabble. All were deaf to her tears and intreaties. "My place is by the King," ſaid ſhe: "It is by your children," replied Meſſrs d'Hauſſonville and de Choiſeul-Stainville. "But my ſiſter is ſerving him as a rampart, and I ——" "Liſten to your children who call you!" exclaimed one: and immediately the cries of thoſe two innocents, alarmed by the noiſe and the abſence of their mother, ſtruck her ears. They obliged her againſt her inclination to return into the interior part of the palace. The firſt thing that was done was to place the royal children in ſafety. Madame de Mackau, and Madame de Souzy, hurried them into the apartments of the King's phyſician.

After the Queen had recovered from a ſwoon into which the alarm had thrown her, ſhe ordered the children to be brought to her, that ſhe might not quit them the whole day; ſhe then inſiſted on the neceſſity of her going with them to the King;

and

and overcoming every objection they made to it, she had already got into the council chamber, when the doors of it were attacked. It luckily happened, that M. Lajarre, the minister at war, and General Wittinghoff were there. The danger was immediate. M. Lajarre, with great presence of mind, had the great council table ranged crossways near the door; and formed a kind of intrenchment with it, behind which he placed the Queen, the two children, and the ladies of honour.

They placed in the front of the table a double line of National Guards; another line, four deep, closed the issues of the two extremities. The Queen stood thus inclosed, having before and beside her, the Princess de Lamballe, Madame de Tarente, Madame de Chimay, Madame de Larouche-Aymon, Mesdames de Duras, de Maille, de Tourzel, and de Ginestous. The two children were on the table; and these dispositions were scarcely finished before the rabble had penetrated into this sanctuary.

They had no sooner entered, than a woman, a species of fury terrible to behold, among other atrocious injuries and insults, offered to her Majesty a cap, a National cockade, and a parcel of three coloured ribbands. M. de Wittinghoff took them and put them on the dauphin.

The crowd pushed in, and pressed hard against the table, and the noxious heat was suffocating, when Santerre approached. His appearance was announced by the cries of, *Viven Santerre, vive le fauxbourg Saint Antoine, vivent le Sans-culottes.* They intreated his assistance to clear the hall, and obtain a circulation of air. He advanced, and leaning on the table, and looking stedfastly at the Queen, "Madam," said he, "fear nothing, I will not hurt you; I would sooner defend you; but reflect that you are abused, and that it is dangerous to deceive the people."

Having delivered this harangue, he gave his orders, and his people arranged themselves at his voice; he pushed one, animated a second, and threatened a third; all seemed to tremble at his aspect. At last, however, they began to withdraw. The ears of the Queen were no longer shocked with their gross language, and the concert of imprecations was finished.

Towards nine o'clock, peace was restored, and the King was delivered from his persecutors: he was conducted to his apartment; and there, throwing himself on a sofa, still covered with the cap of ignominy, he breathed a sigh of thanks to Heaven, in gratitude for its protection.

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The King, who felt that day more for the infa-
ny that was brought upon his country, than for
he insults offered to himself, was surrounded by
is faithful servants, who endeavoured to comfort
he distresses of their royal master. The Queen
nd children came to him, the cap was taken off,
nd royalty seemed to revive: but why do I say,
evive! it had not drooped an instant; the worse
he treatment he had experienced, the greater was
is glory.

Fancy to yourself the scene which now succeeded
o the horrors of imprecation; sighs and tears were
ntermingled; but the pleasure they derived from
he idea of their mutual safety, was hardly permit-
ed to dawn through the reflection of the horrors
hey had witnessed.

After the palace was entirely evacuated which
was not till near nine, the King gave orders that
he justices of the peace should come and examine
nto the state of the palace, and by a legal act, at-
est to posterity the sacrilegious violation of the
royal asylum. Messrs. D'Offonville and Menjaud
were the magistrates charged with this delicate of-
ice. They found that doors had been burst open,
ocks taken away, furniture distroyed, wainscots
orced in, and glasses broken; many thefts had
been committed, among others a sword belonging

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to the Swiſs of the chamber, and a ſilver veſſel belonging to the Princeſs Royal carried off.

I cannot help mentioning here the affectionate attachment the King and Queen experienced from all their attendants in the palace, from the ladies of honour to the loweſt ſervant; all of whom uſed every effort to ſerve and ſave their royal maſters. But how, indeed, could they help loving this unfortunate family?—They ſaw them every day, and every day they were witneſſes to their virtues, and every day they ſaw them inſulted and perſecuted.

The day thus terminated, an endilible dishonour would have been fixed on the French name but for the virtues, the courage and magnanimity of a Prince who though ſo inſulted, ſo ſurrounded and ſo menaced, on all occaſions, almoſt without a friend, acted with that firmneſs and intrepidity as if he had had the whole army of France at his command? He has preſerved his dignity as a King, his honour as a man, and his religion as a chriſtian at a time when each of thoſe principles was ridiculed and deſpiſed. His courage and reſolution have never left him in all thoſe many and cruel moments, in which he has been threatened with inſtant death: he has ſuffered with fortitude, in

felt more for the degradation of his people, than his own danger.

On the 21ſt of June, the King wrote to the Aſſembly the following letter:

Mr PRESIDENT,

The National Aſſembly are already informed of the events of yeſterday. Paris is, doubtleſs, in conſternation; and all France will hear of them with an aſtoniſhment mingled with grief. I was very ſenſible of the zeal that the Aſſembly teſtified for me on that painful occaſion. I leave it to their prudence to examine into the cauſes of that event, the care of weighing each circumſtance in it, and of taking the neceſſary meaſures for maintaining the conſtitution, and inſuring the inviolability and the conſtitutional liberty of the hereditary repreſentative of the nation.

For my part, nothing ſhall prevent me, at all times, and under all circumſtances, from doing what the duties of the conſtitution which I have accepted, and the true intereſt of the French nation exact from me.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(Counter-ſigned) DURANTHON.

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The moſt inſulting anſwer was ſent to this letter; and every crime committed on the 20th escaped unpuniſhed, excepting that the chiefs of the municipality were ſuſpended by the department from their functions.

The attrocious acts committed on the 20th, however, very ſhortly reached the armies on the frontiers. La Fayette felt deeply the inſults that had been offered to his royal maſter, and the violation of his conſtitutional rights; he had ſworn to defend the conſtitution, and therefore could not, as a man of honour, behold theſe infringements of it in ſilence. His army joined in his ſentiments, and deputed him to ſpeak at the bar of the National Aſſembly their indignation. La Fayette was already informed of the reception his letter to the legiſlative body had met with, and of the endeavours of the Jacobins to miſrepreſent his principles to the people. He was conſcious that, by going to Paris, he ſhould put himſelf into the hands of his moſt inveterate enemies, by whom aſſaſſination, for the ſake of licentiouſneſs, had been conſidered and practiſed as a virtue, and who would not heſitate to enforce their principles by the moſt villainous practices; he knew, alſo, how much the mob had been enraged againſt him: but, regardleſs of fear in the performance of what he thought his duty, he

he arrived at Paris, and presented himself at the bar of the Assembly; where, with a fortitude which a pure conscience only could inspire, he acknowledged his letter to the Assembly, declared the indignation felt by his army and himself, at the treatment the King had experienced on the 20th, and, in the name of every honest man in the kingdom, denounced the popular societies, and particularly the Jacobins, as the promoters of factions, and conjured the Assembly to abolish them. The patriots were entirely unprepared for his appearance; their hired multitudes in the tribunes were wanting, the voice of justice was heard; and, almost for the first time, sense, integrity, and honour received their triumph. He was heard with attention, applauded, and admitted to the honours of the sitting; an honour now become a disgrace, since the seats that had been originally intended for those who might deserve well of their country, had been defiled by the admission of regicides, plunderers, and assassins. The patriots, however, rose up, and accused him of having left his army when his presence was most necessary, of coming to dictate laws to the Assembly, invade its independencies, and consequently the liberties of the people.

As soon as the populace were acquainted with his arrival at Paris, they assembled in crowds, and

the Jacobins took every means in their power to inflame their minds against him; and in the evening they had proceeded so far in destroying every sentiment of favour and attachment, which La Fayette had so well deserved, and once so abundantly received, that he was burnt in effigy, amidst the execrations of the mob. However, contrary to the expectations of every one, and the wishes of the Jacobins, he had the good fortune to escape in safety to his army, though with the regret of having been unable to procure the success of his embassy.

He was immediately deprecated by all the departments: he was represented as a second Cromwell, endeavouring to subvert the constitution, and usurp the crown; numerous deputations and petitions were sent to the National Assembly, declaring him a traitor to his country, and demanding that he should be publicly accused and tried. This subject was frequently debated; but as it was not decided upon till the 8th of August, I shall inform you of some particular events that took place at Paris in the mean time.

M. Petion, as I have said before, having been suspended with the rest of the municipality and the anniversary of the federation being now very near, the populace had shewn themselves exceedingly

ngly anxious to obtain his reinſtatement as their avourite leader. Numerous petitions had been ent to the Aſſembly by federates and citizens of he different ſections, in behalf of their brave and irtuous magiſtrate, as they called him, and praying that he might be reſtored time enough to aſſiſt t the federation.

As much has been ſaid in reprobation of his conuct, I here inſert you his petition, in which you vill ſee what he ſays in his defence:

The Petition of M. PETION *to the* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

A deciſion of the department having baniſhed ne from a poſt, to which I am attached, even on ccount of its dangers,—to which I am attached, on ccount of the ſervices I can render to my fellow itizens; I preſent myſelf before you, with a conidence inſpired by a conſcience without reproach. demand a ſevere juſtice,—I demand it for myelf,—I demand it for my perſecutors.

I feel not the neceſſity of juſtifying myſelf; but feel the imperious neceſſity of avenging the pubic cauſe. It is not in the power of the departnent to throw the ſlighteſt blemiſh on the reputaion of a magiſtrate, who has never ceaſed, and vill never ceaſe to be faithful to his duties.

If I was only called upon to anſwer the department, I ſhould remain ſilent. Long ſince has the department been judged by the tribunal of opinion.

It is not in this inſtance alone, that they have declared war againſt the municipality: that ambitious and uſurping body wiſh to hold it in a ſtate of ſervile dependence, and reſtrain it in all its actions; they wiſh that their power alone may be felt inceſſantly by all the citizens, that they may be conſcious of its exiſtence. Tormented by the infatuated wiſh of governing, they cannot endure the power of opinion that ſurrounds the municipality.

Theſe hateful and jealous paſſions explain the conduct they have held on more than one occaſion. The preſent circumſtance having appeared to the department extremely favourable, they ſeized it with eagerneſs to diſplay the plenitude of their power.

I confeſs that I am ſtill at a loſs to decide upon the moſt truly ſcandalous ſentence they have paſſed. I know very well that corrupted papers, ſold on all occaſions to outrage the Revolution, morality, and juſtice, had inſpired them with the idea of it;—I know very well that ſhameful manœuvres and contemptible agents had prepared a petition againſt the municipality and myſelf: but theſe works

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of corruption contributed more to our eulogy than to our cenſure.

I did not think that one of the beſt actions of my public life,—that which leaves the moſt conſoling reflections in my heart, could become the cauſe of my perſecution.

I aſk myſelf what I have done? Well! I have prevented the effuſion of blood; I have prevented the torch of civil war from being lighted up in the capital, which, perhaps, might have incendiated the empire.

Let us now ſee what the department reproach me with. I have read their accuſation; I trembled with indignation, and my ſoul roſe up againſt the faithleſs hands that traced it.

Juſt and honourable men! read it, if you can, with calmneſs,—and judge. It is nothing but a declaration almoſt entirely falſe, in which facts are not only perverted, but in which no trouble has been taken to mention a ſingle circumſtance in favour of the accuſed; and in which inſidious allegations are continually ſubſtituted for reaſon.

Is it thus that the even balances of juſtice are held?

I obſerve, in the firſt place, that the directory of the department ought not to have interfered, in any manner, with the meaſures of police and the

public

public orders, which the union of citizens might have required on the 20th of June.

Every thing that respects the police is the essence of the municipal powers. The department have the single right of watchfulness and censure: they permit, and afterward control: if they act immediately, if they order, watchfulness exists no longer; the law is eluded and loses its end.

The council-general submitted its resolution of the 16th of June, to the influence of the directory; I know not why: if I had the honour of presiding at the council on that day, I should have used every endeavour to prevent an abuse so dangerous in its consequences.

In short, the directory got hold of it, and when they obtain what does not belong to them, it is not to yield up easily what has been given them. They had a conference on the 19th with the administrators of the police and me. Even then it was not certain whether or not the fauxbourgs would march in arms. They passed a decree in the form of a proclamation, in which they reminded us of general principles concerning armed assemblies, and invited us to an active watchfulness.

It is easy, no doubt, to command in this manner, and it is still more easy to censure measures taken, when the events are passed.

Here

Here the department begin moſt cunningly to direct a ſlight reproach to me, becauſe I acquainted them only on the 18th, of a reſolution that was paſſed on the 16th. But, take notice, that it was in an evening ſitting that the reſolution was paſſed; that it could not have been expediated till the 17th, and from the 17th to the 18th was not a long period. This reproach, therefore, can only be regarded as an oratorical precaution to diſpoſe people to liſten, with more compliance, to more important facts.

Beſides, I am perſuaded, and I have good reaſons for believing, that the department were informed, even on the moment, of the reſolution having been paſſed.

Moreover, what is very true, is, that they only ſummoned us before them on the 19th, and that, not in the morning as they advance, but between two and three o'clock.

What is not leſs true, is, that the decree of the department was not poſted up till the moment it could have no effect; that was on the 20th, at day-break.

What is not leſs true, is, that the department have not over the people that aſcendency of confidence which favours the action and ſucceſs of meaſures;

ſures; and, in ſuch caſe, what does not favour, counteracts.

I paſs on to ſomething of a graver nature: the department are not aſhamed to ſay, that I did not give to the commandant general *the neceſſary orders* ſupporting their decree.

I know not what the department mean by *neceſſary orders:* what I know is, that I wrote to the commandant general, to engage him in the moſt active watchfulneſs; to double every poſt; to keep reſerves; to put on foot a very ſtrong force; to have patroles, as well of cavalry as infantry.

What I know, is, that I gave over night orders to the commanders of the battalions of the fauxbourgs, not to collect in arms.

Were theſe orders? No one, I believe, can doubt it; and, obſerve that they preceded the union of the citizens.

I ſtopped not there: I deſired ſome of the municipal officers, and the adminiſtrators of the police, to repair to the different places to ſpeak to the citizens, to enlighten them, and prevent their aſſembling in arms.

The department are faithleſs enough to paſs over all theſe facts in ſilence, and throw on me the odious inculpation of having ſuffered the groups to increaſe—why do they not add, *by deſign?* They

have

have not loyalty enough to ſay ſo openly; but they have the cowardice to inſinuate it.

All the repreſentations of the municipal officers were uſeleſs; and why? Becauſe the citizens conſtantly repeated, "We are not forming a riot; the motive which unites us is well known,—it is pure;—we celebrate the anniverſary of the *jeu de paume*;—we are going to preſent an addreſs to the National Aſſembly and the King;—the Aſſembly has received our brethren; it has received them armed; they have had the honour of being admitted into the hall:—why ſhould we be deprived of the ſame favour?"

What would the whole of the department, under theſe circumſtances, have effected? Could they have ſhaken the reſolution of citizens, who ſupported their actions by the authority, by the example of the Aſſembly itſelf,—who were fortified by the purity of their intentions? No power could have produced that prodigy.

What juſtice would there have been afterwards in repreſſing theſe citizens by violence?

What imprudence would there not have been in endeavouring to do it? For where was the repreſſive force that would have acted on that occaſion? Where was the force ſufficient to reſtrain that which was putting itſelf in motion?

What barbarity, in ſhort, would there not have been, in cauſing blood to be ſhed on ſuch an occaſion?

It is in vain, in ſuch circumſtances, to think of vague hypotheſis; it is in vain to ſpeak in an abſtract and theoretic manner, of the reſpect due to the law: it is neceſſary to be preſent on the ſpot. The department ſhould put themſelves in the place of the mayor, and ſay candidly what they would have done. Would they, for ſuch an offence have ſlaughtered the citizens? Yes? or No? For in the world there were but two means,—reaſon and force.

The citizens, then, were united; the battalions were preparing to march, with their colours and cannons; their commanders were at their head.

What would the department have done there? The municipal body ſaw but one ſtep to take,—that of giving a prudent direction to ſo conſiderable a maſs of men: to render their march regular and well ordered, it put them under the colours of the National Guard, and under the command of chiefs armed by the law.

The department make a fine diſſertation on this circumſtance; they blame every thing and indicate nothing: they conſider this meaſure as unlawful, injurious to the National Guard, and dangerous:

rous: they find no expreſſion ſtrong enough to paintit in its true colours.

Let us proceed from one point; that is, that the citizens were marching, and that nothing could prevent them. Well! was leſs inconvenience to be expected from leaving them to themſelves, than from arranging them under the watchfulneſs of the National Gaurd, who marched with them? It is here, again, that I muſt be anſwered by yes! or no! If there was *not* leſs inconvenience, all the obſervations of the department ſignify nothing, and fall of themſelves. Now, I defy the department to maintain, that there was more chance for good order by ſuffering the torrent to proceed by itſelf, than by directing it.

All this, however, is ſuperfluous; for the National Guards of the fauxbourgs, and the other citizens, armed in any manner, and without arms, made but one: they were brothers, were concerned in the ſame ſentiment, as well as in the ſame ſtep.

Shall I anſwer to the department, when they ſay that they had not approved this meaſure which I had propoſed to them in a letter ſigned by the adminiſtrators of the police and myſelf?

What does it signify? since the irresistible nature of circumstances rendered it a forced one, and that it altered nothing of what was going on.

I go further, and assert that there was no need of the advice or the approbation of the department to authorise the battalions to march: they had not any right to interfere; to the mayor only belonged that right.

There is one thing, however, which I cannot pass over in silence, and which entirely unmasks the principles of the department.

They have the perfidious cunning to assert that the measure was injurious to the National Guards: and how do they prove it? Thus; I copy their expressions: "This measure tended to fraternise with the soldiers of the law, and to unite, under their colours, men for the most part unknown, and vagabonds, all in a state of open rebellion; and among whom, as the event has shewn, were plunderers and assassins."

It is thus that the department, with much baseness, endeavour to insinuate themselves into the favour of the National Guards, by affecting to take an interest in their glory: it is thus that they divide the citizens from the citizens. They in vain endeavour to disguise the contempt they have for the indigent and unfortunate class of society. Can

they

they ſay, with any ſincerity, that the greater part of the citizens united were men unknown; were vagabonds, unleſs they choose to call workmen and honeſt artiſans by thoſe names? Certainly into ſo immenſe a crowd, there may have ſtolen a few of thoſe dangerous men; but to ſay that the majority of the citizens aſſembled were ſuch men, is the greateſt inſult.

Can they ſay, without ſhame, that there were aſſaſſins among them, and that the event has proved it? This infamous aſſertion calls for vengeance. By what ſanguinary action was diſcovered any aſſaſſin? Let them anſwer directly. Did the event coſt a ſingle individual his life? Let them ſpeak. Is it with ſuch temerity, with ſuch boldneſs, that the citizens are ever to be calumniated and diſhonoured? It is by covering them perpetually with opprobiums, by loading them with contempt, that they are brought at laſt to depravity, and that ſociety is put into a ſtate of eternal warfare.

I ſhall come, in a moment, to that event.

The department, uniformly inſidious in their recital, continue, and ſay, "that the mayor did not give himſelf any trouble about the dangers to which the ſeditious aſſembly of the multitude expoſed the capital:—

"That

"That he knew so little of the state of the mob that some persons came to the commons, where he had remained till half after two o'clock, to tell him that the sight was glorious, and that property was respected; and yet, at that moment, the doors of the gardens of the Thuilleries had been burst open."

What signifies that deceitful language? *I did not give myself any trouble!* I desired several of my colleagues to go about to the different places through which the citizens might pass, and particularly to the Thuilleries, which they executed with the greatest zeal. I staid, with several others, at the commons, as forming a central point.

Was that, yes! or no! giving myself any trouble? Let me beg of the department to tell me what other precautions ought to have been taken; or what were the measures the keenest foresight could have thought of for an event of all others the most unforeseen. Let me ask this of the department, who alone thought proper to calumniate the day of the 20th; who alone, after all, could discover so many faults, so much negligence, so much prevarication in the conduct of the magistrates.

Yes! all the news I received, restored calmness and confidence to my soul. Properties were respected;

ected; no citizen had reason to complain. [I must here observe, that M. Petion, it may be supposed, did not consider the King as a citizen, but an outlaw.] The sight was glorious and imposing; not to every eye, but to the eyes of a man, who enjoys the enjoyment of others,—who sees with delight that the people, by a knowledge of their own dignity, are rising by degrees to the height of their destiny. I have seen the best citizens speak to me of this sight with tears in their eyes, and transport in their hearts.

It is false to say, that, before half after two o'clock, there was any riot, and that doors had been broke open. The department can only make use of an allegation so inexact, for the purpose of reproaching me with my calmness during the pretended disorders, and aggravate my pretended delay in going to the palace.

They consequently add immediately, that "the mayor did not make his appearance till two hours after the moment in which the royal doors had been forced." What cunning! What duplicity!

I was at the palace before five o'clock. It was more than half past three when the door of the palace was opened. I should have flown there at the instant, if at the instant I had been informed of it. About half past three, or near four, M. Vignier,

Vignier, adminiſtrator of the police, who ha that moment left the ſpot, came, and ſaid to me "All goes well! You may be perfectly eaſy! What was my ſurpriſe, when at half paſt four, a aid-de-camp came and informed me that the apa ments of the palace were full of people, as well the courts, and that it was impoſſible to forſee wh might happen. I quitted every thing, and repai ed immediately to the palace.

This entrance of the people was evidently th effect of one of thoſe unforeſeen movements, whi are neither the reſult of reflexion or intentio The moſt abſurd and the moſt calumnious accou have, in this reſpect, disfigured every fact, whi we cannot too much endeavour to ſet in its tr light.

One part of the column coming out of the N tional Aſſembly, filed off in the garden of th Thuilleries, and paſſed through it quietly, to g the Pont Royal. The National Guards, rang in a line, carried their arms, and uttered eve ſign of joy to them as they paſſed, while the oth part of that column took its march toward the C rouzel; ſo that each proceeded in its own wa without having the ſame, and previouſly concert determinations.

The bearers of the petition were at the head of hat part of the column that was in the place de Carouſel. There they had ſtopped at the royal ate to enter and preſent the petition to the King. They knocked at the gate,—they expreſſed ſome mpatience: a municipal officer came out by the rinces' court, joined the citizens, and told them hey could not enter in ſo great a number, and hat they ought to ſend commiſſaries with the petition. That was agreed on, when ſuddenly the ate was opened from within; then the torrent uſhed in, and overflowed, in an inſtant, the courts nd apartments.

Where was the deſign in this? Where was there ſingle moment given to deliberation? Who does ot ſee, on the contrary, a conſiderable maſs of en, which, by its own weight, urges itſelf on,—ads, and is led by itſelf? Ought not what paſſed terwards in the apartments to open the eyes of e moſt incredulous? For, at laſt, what did the izens do that could give the ſlighteſt indication a plot, of which the idea alone makes one tremble?

It is not a few glaſſes broken, a few pannels forced in, either by a precipitate entrance, or by the nple preſſure of an immenſe crowd;—it is not a w boards taken away to facilitate the paſſage of a

 cannon,

cannon, which, with a strange, infatuated impetuosity, they brought up;—it is not *that*, I say, that can prove any bad intent, any sanguinary designs: I do not by *that* discover the plunderers and assassins of whom the department speak.

When I arrived, I did not discover in the countenances of the people those traits of wildness, indignation and passion, which are the presages of misfortunes. I saw a great number of citizens, anxious to see, pressing rather tumultuously, directed by the spirit of imitation and curiosity. I will not say all that I did to restore tranquillity, to determine the people to arrange themselves peaceably, to conduct themselves with wisdom and dignity; even my detractors are obliged to do me justice in this instance.

The department say not a word of this conduct: they stop every where, where they perceive innocence. They are silent, and dissemble. Let them tell me then what they would have done on this difficult occasion. Would they have employed force, they who invoke so much respect for the laws and property? Let them explain themselves. Had a single blow been given, it is impossible to calculate the horrors that might have been committed. And was not, therefore, the safety of all

the ſupreme law before which all others ſhould be ſilent?

Have the department, in this affair, eſtabliſhed themſelves as my judges, or my adverſaries? Is it equity that has conducted them, or paſſion that has led them aſtray? The ſlighteſt reflection on the circumſtances is ſufficient to ſolve that problem.

The condemnation which they have pronounced againſt me is become a public ſcandal: entered in the regiſters of the municipality, and diffuſed throughout all France,—preſented under the falſeſt and blackeſt colours, in a degree which can only be regarded as a libel; I demand a redreſs as public and ſtriking as the offence itſelf.

The department cannot ſay they were deceived; they cannot call in their defence the dictates of conſcience; they have perverted facts; their malevolent intentions appear in every line of their reſolution: if the reaſons they give had been plauſible, they would have been culpable in pronouncing my ſuſpenſion;—they ought, therefore, to be puniſhed.

I ſpeak not here of the nullities which ſtrike this work of darkneſs, of violation of every form. If the Aſſembly cannot neglect theſe infractions of law, it is not for me to take advantage of them: it is not upon vices of that nature that I reſt my innocence, and that I accuſe the department.

Gentlemen, if the departments were to be allowed arbitrarily to ſmite the municipalities, and ſuſpend them as their revenge and paſſions dictate, France would ſoon be entirely diſorganized. You are not unacquainted with the afflicting ſtruggles that take place every where between the municipalities and the departments. What is the principal cauſe of theſe unhappy diviſions? I muſt have the courage to declare it.

The municipalities, choſen immediately by the citizens, are in general animated by that public ſpirit which is the friend and ſupport of the Revolution: that ſpirit is wanting in the greater part of the departments. The municipalities wiſh for liberty with energy; the departments are inceſſantly endeavouring to fetter it. The municipal authority has ſomething mild and paternal in it; it is the beſt and moſt ſalutary of all; the authority of the departments has ſomething rough and deſpotic in it; it adapts itſelf leſs to localities and circumſtances. The municipalities are particularly influenced by the ſpirit of the people: the departments are influenced by the ſpirit of the court, being in habitual dependence on its miniſters. The principle of the ſuperior powers is to govern, and the habit of nomination inſenſibly corrupts men, and renders them imperious.

Legiſlators,

Legiſlators, you cannot with too much care watch over the body of men, naturally ambitious, whoſe power in a free country is continually threatening, if it be not continually confined within its true limits. You cannot, on the contrary, give too much ſupport to thoſe little civic adminiſtrations, which, weak and diſperſed over the ſurface of the empire, can not only never alarm liberty, but are even the elements and the moſt ſolid baſis of it.

How much will you embolden the departments, if the dangerous example which that of Paris has juſt given ſhould remain unpuniſhed! For, do not deceive yourſelves in this reſpect; the departments are not ſtrangers to one another. There already exiſts a ſpirit of imitation: from that ſpirit of imitation to a general ſpirit, from thence to a coaliti-on is not far; and that idea preſents more than one danger to the public good.

I ſpeak not of the deciſion of the King. The department had done him a good office in ſuſpending me: the King renders them one, in his turn, by coming to their ſupport. The department, in all their actions, have always ſhewn ſo perfect an agreement with the views of the court, that this concert of wiſhes on the occaſion has nothing ſurpriſing in it, and I can only think myſelf honoured with *that* deciſion.

Permit,

Permit me, Gentlemen, to expreſs, in the midſt of you, a ſentiment which I cannot reſtrain; an honeſt man ſtill finds conſolations in the bottom of his heart: then even when, abandoned by every thing that is dear to him, by his friends miſled, by a public deceived, he has alone to ſtruggle againſt combined perſecutions. A day, cries he, in the bitterneſs of his ſoul,—a day will come, in which they will know me, in which they will be aſhamed of having perſecuted me. That idea, that charm of hope, ſoftens his ſufferings, and he yields up his life, forgiving his enemies.

But how ſweet is it for him to ſee all that he loves,—to ſee his fellow citizens ſurround him with their attachment, their eſteem, their confidence and every ſentiment that makes the happineſs of life!—To ſee them intereſt themſelves for him more than he himſelf for himſelf;—to ſee his colleagues ſoliciting the ſame fate as a favour, knowing no other diſgrace than his, and priding themſelves in the idea of partaking of it.

You alone, Gentlemen, can add to ſo many precious teſtimonies of regard; you, the repreſentatives of a great people; you, whoſe auguſt miſſion impreſſes ſo impoſing a character on all your actions; have in this affair no other clemency than juſtice. Puniſh me, if I am culpable; revenge me

I am innocent. I attend, with a respectful confidence, the solemn decree which you are about to pass.

(Signed) PETION.

I have some few comments to make on this petition, but will make it the subject of another letter. I remain,

Sir, yours, &c.

LETTER IV.

DEAR SIR,

YOU will from my last letter form a sufficiently perfect idea of the character of M. Petion. Those superficial arguments,—those shadows of reasoning, which have but a too fatal influence over the populace of France at this moment, will shrink into their native nothing, when weighed by the experience of a politician, or the penetration of a philosopher. I do not think it worth while to trouble you with the accusations brought against M. Petion by the department, because they were no other than the regular consequence of such sentiments

ſentiments as would neceſſarily ſtrike any one at all acquainted with the government of a nation, or the duty of a magiſtrate, after reading an impartial detail of his conduct, or rather of his inaction. There are, however, ſome parts of M. Petion's petition to the National Aſſembly, which, I think, I ought not to let paſs by without ſome obſervation.

In the firſt place he aſſerts, that it was not in the power of the department to throw the ſlightest ſlur, on the reputation of a magiſtrate (meaning himſelf,) who had never ceaſed, and would never ceaſe to be faithful to his duties.

On a further examination you will ſee how far this aſſertion is true or falſe.

His next obſervation is, that the department had long ſince been judged by the tribunal of opinion.

At this time in France there was but one ſet of men who dared publicly to avow their opinions, and that ſet of men were the rabble, who were immediately under the direction of the mayor; it will not be a ſubject of wonder then that the department, who ſtrove to execute the laws, ſhould not only be judged but condemned by this awful tribunal, which M. Petion himſelf raiſed againſt them.

But

But the principal article on which he rested his defence, was his having spared the effusion of blood.

The dreadful and numerous massacres that took place on the succeeding days of the 10th of August, and the 2nd of September, prove how little truth there was in this assertion, and how little weight it should have had in his acquittal. Had the National Guards been properly instructed, and had they been ordered to fire on the mob, and done so on the 20th of June, it is very likely, nay, 'tis almost certain that the horrid cruelties and murders committed on the 10th of August, and 2nd of September, would not have happened. Blood might have been shed: but that effusion would have saved the lives of the many thousands of persons of honour, principles and talents, who have since fallen a sacrifice to the increased power of the mob. Authority would have returned to its proper channel; and regularly confined to its lawful limits, would not have divided into so many different streams, corrupted by, and corrupting every thing they met. Some of the lawless and unprincipled rabble might have fallen under the sword of the law, and justice would have directed the blow. The most audacious robberies, the most cruel and unparalleled massacres, the most brutal and cowardly as-

 sassinations,

ſaſſinations, and the moſt infamous perjuries might have been prevented: the King might have remained the head of a conſtitution, unviolated on his part; and France might not yet have made herſelf the moſt contemptible and guilty country in the world.

Can M. Petion ſay then, that he has prevented the effuſion of blood.—He has rather been the cauſe, perhaps indirectly, of all the cruelties that have diſhonoured France. 'Tis certain he made this aſſertion before the events of the 10th of Auguſt and 2nd of September had taken place; but ſuch events were looked forward to as the certain conſequences of the triumph the mob had gained on the 20th of June. When an armed rabble unlawfully aſſemble, and are allowed by the magiſtrates, to commit outrages with impunity, although they ſhould diſperſe afterwards without having committed murder,—no credit can be given to any magiſtrate who was preſent at the commiſſion of ſuch enormities, for having prevented the effuſion of blood, unleſs he can decidedly prove that he has, by lenient means, effectually ſubdued them, and prevented their re-aſſembling in the ſame manner; and, at the ſame time, reſerved to himſelf the power of ſuppreſſing them, ſhould they again attempt to diſturb the public peace. But M. Petion was ſo far

far from acting in this manner, that he did every thing in his power to eſtabliſh the triumph of the mob over the law, and the lawfully-armed force. He flattered their opinions, their wiſhes, and their actions; and, in order to prevent effectually their meeting with any oppoſition in the commiſſion of their intended crimes from the military power, he choſe thoſe who were moſt notoriouſly factious from the lawful army, and placed them with the lawleſs rabble; thereby endeavouring to make appear legal a violation of the conſtitution, and converting the protectors of the law into the abettors, at leaſt, of tumultuous riots. When the day was over, he had the aſſurance to tell the rabble who had committed ſo many outrages, that they had acted with dignity, and proved that they were free; thus encouraging their preſumption, and confirming their ſuperiority. 'Tis true M. Petion was not the promoter of bloodſhed on that day—for there was not any—but he acted worſe than he could have done had he been the cauſe of the death of thouſands, for he gave up all power and authority into the hands of a lawleſs rabble, with an intention to aſſiſt and abett them in the execution of their known determination of extenſive ſlaughter, by thouſands as unprincipled as themſelves, and to whoſe exceſſes there no longer remained any poſſi-

bility of restraint, but their own wills. Can a magistrate, therefore, be allowed the credit of having prevented the effusion of blood, who transferred all power into the hands of avowed plunderers and assassins? It is not the conduct of a day, or its immediate consequence, that can establish the character of any person in a public capacity. That man is unfit for any share of government, who acts only from the impulse of the moment, and cannot look forward to the future, examine causes with their effects, weigh probabilities with possibilities, and judge more from resulting consequences than plausible beginnings;—whose mind cannot pierce through superficial appearances, and penetrate into intrinsic merit; and lastly, who has not courage enough to sacrifice the momentary favour of the populace for their lasting good.

I do not think I need mention any thing more, as there are so many passages in his petition, which are sufficient accusations against him; and, indeed, the whole of it will give a clearer insight into his character and principles, than any thing I can add. I shall, therefore, only observe, that the National Assembly, having heard the resolutions of its committee on the subject of M. Petion's suspension, restored him to his former situation on Friday, the 13th

13th of July, amidst the acclamations of the federates and the populace.

The celebration of the anniversaries of the federation are held on the Champ de Mars, which is a large plain, about a mile in circumference. It is bounded on one end by the River Seine, on the other by the Ecole Militaire, and on each side by avenues of trees.—Great mounds of earth have been thrown up all around the plain for the convenience of the citizens; which sloping gradually toward the plain, every person placed thereon has a distinct view of every thing passing in it. In the center of the plain is raised the Altar of Liberty, on the top of which are four vases for frankincense. A number of tents, on the last anniversary, were erected at equal distances on the mounds, and ornamented with national ribbons, forming a large and picturesque circle upon their superior extremity. A great marquee was erected on the east side of the altar, on the mounds, for the accommodation of the King and the National Assembly, and another on the west side, for the civil officers. A great number of federates had been expected from the different departments to attend the celebration of this fete; and, in consequence of this expectation, a large circle of poplars, eighty-three in number, were planted around the plain, at a little distance

from

from the mounds, under which they were to have arranged themſelves. As a direction for the reſpective rendezvous, a large ſtream of three colours, red, white and blue, bearing on it the name of the department, was ſuſpended from each poplar. This arrangement, however, was rendered uſeleſs by the ſmall number of federates who had arrived before the 14th, and which number not exceeding fifteen hundred, divided by eighty-three, would have made a ſhew very little correſponding with the wiſhes of the Jacobin party.

A pyramid was ſet up on the ſouth ſide of the altar, near the Ecole Militaire, in one of the departments of which were the King, Queen, and Court; with the following inſcription painted on one ſide of it

"Tremble tyrants,——we riſe up to deſtroy you!"

And on the other—

"To the memory of the citizens who have died on the frontiers in defence of their country.

A tree was planted on the north ſide of the altar, from which were ſuſpended the arms of the nobility, and thoſe of the courts inimical to France, emblazoned on paper. A large pile of dry wood was placed round it; to which it was intended that the King, the

the President of the National Assembly, and the Mayor should set fire.

Fifty two pieces of ordnance were planted on the outside of the mounds, near the river, which occasionally, during the day, fired three rounds each.

Early in the morning the King, Queen, and all the Court went to the Ecole Militaire, and situated themselves in a balcony which commanded a full view of the Champ de Mars, where they remained till near six o'clock in the evening. The railing of the balcony was covered with crimson velvet; though you will scarcely credit it, this trifling ornament was considered as so presuming a mark of superior dignity, and raised the indignation of some of the populace assembled to see the sight, to so great a degree, that it was a frequent subject of discussion during the day, whether or not it should be ordered to be taken away: and, during these frequent discussions, the most illiberal and indecent remarks were made on the pride, the dignity, and the delicacy of the King and Queen, for the entertainment of the surrounding crowd.

Some beautiful paintings were placed around the altar, emblematic of the necessary union of law, prudence and courage; and of the various other

virtues,

virtues, with which its was pretended to wish the people might be inspired.

A regular procession of all the troops, the federates, and the pikemen, from the different fauxbourgs, was intended to take place early in the morning, and that the oath should be taken at noon precisely; and books were printed to regulate the order of the march. But such was the deficiency of discipline and subordination, and such disputes and disagreements arose concerning the arrangement of the different parties, that the first battalion did not enter the Champ de Mars till three o'clock, and the procession was not ended at six, about which time the oath was taken.

The first stone of the statue of Liberty had been placed in the morning by a deputation of members from the National Assembly, attended by a great body of the people, which was intended to be erected on the ruins of the Bastile.

The King left the Ecole Militaire, about six o'clock, and proceeded to the altar, where he and the National Assembly renewed their oath to be faithful to the constitution. After this the King was desired to set fire to the tree of feodality, which he refused to do, and returned to the Ecole Militaire, surrounded with the cries of "*Vive la Nation! Vive le cote gouche de l' Assemblee Nationale! Vi-*

ven

vent les bons Deputes! Vive Petion! Vivent les Jacobins! A bas le Departement! A bas le Veto! A bas La Fayette!"

The tree was then set on fire; and as the arms caught the flame and blazed, the shouts of triumph resounded on all sides.

The least appearance of order or decorum, was not to be seen, during the whole day. The troops and the people were irregularly mingled with each other on the plain; and the latter, being no longer under any restraint whatever, crowded about, and ascended the altar in the greatest confusion, so that nothing was heard or seen but by those immediately in or around it; and the oath was taken without the knowledge of almost the whole multitude, who were supposed to join it.

The number of people who assembled on this occasion, was immense: I suppose there were, in the whole, about four hundred thousand; although some of the French papers gave out that there was that number of men in arms, and added an equal number of spectators.

The National Assembly had dismissed those guards which the constitution had allowed to the king, under pretence that they were too well affected towards their master, and would do their duty, these, since their dismissal, had been quar-

tered, or rather confined, in the Ecole Militaire; for, being ſuſpected of ariſtocracy, it was not ſafe for them to ſtir out. A thouſand ridiculous accuſations were raiſed againſt the executive power, for having thanked them for their former ſervice, and having continued, and (as it was ſaid) increaſed their pay to them, after they had been diſmiſſed by the legiſlative body. As the Jacobins were always at a loſs for any real ground of accuſation againſt the King, they endeavoured to ſupply that loſs by inventing the moſt abſurd and ill-founded tales of his treaſon. They certainly were well acquainted with the nature of the tools they intended to employ for their purpoſes, and knew that the populace would never ſtop to examine the probability or poſſibility of any circumſtances alledged againſt the King.

All obſtacles were not yet removed. Several Regiments of the line ſtill remained in Paris, which the Jacobins feared they ſhould not be able to bring over to ſecond their intentions: it was therefore judged neceſſary to place them at a greater diſtance. Theſe troops had not, on the day of the federation, and before, ſhewn ſuch readineſs in receiving, and uniting with the federates, as the National Guards had done: they had, beſides, carried their arms, as they paſſed under the balcony in

which

which the King and Queen were, and had not insulted them with the cries of, *Vive la Nation! Vivent les Sans-culottes! Vive Petion, &c.* On these and other such accounts, they had made themselves disagreeable to the Jacobins; it was, therefore, necessary they should be removed. Accordingly, on the 15th of July, it was proposed in the Assembly, that the executive power should be obliged to remove all the troops of the line from Paris, and from within thirty thousand toises (about 34 miles) of the capital, in the course of three days. It was in vain that several of the members opposed the motion; it was in vain that M. Girardin had courage enough to speak the truth to the Assembly, openly declare to the proposers their real motives: the motion was immediately carried, and the decree was passed.

But when the time which was fixed for their departure arrived, the troops of the line refused to march, until they were paid six months arrears that were due to them.—This refusal threatened important consequences; the Boulevards of the invalids exhibited, during the whole day, a scene of riot and confusion. Every means was instantly taken to appease, and induce them to go quietly. They were paid, and sent away.

The federates were daily gathering from all parts, and immediately appeared at the bar of the

National Assembly, threatening vengeance against the King and the Aristocracy, and setting forth their own courage and resolution to die in the defence of the constitution. However absurd,—however treasonable and unconstitutional, their speeches were always applauded; the honourable mention of them was decreed, and they themselves were admitted to the honours of the sitting. The extravagance of their speeches,—their pompous professions of courage, and their ridiculous denunciations against Kings in general, were well adapted to the infatuation of the times. I will here insert a speech of one of the federates from the department of Puy-de-Dome, as a specimen of the numerous effusions of fancy, with which the legislative power was continually entertained at this period.

The orator observed to the Assembly,—"We do not announce to you that we will conquer, or that we will perish; but we swear to return triumphant, and to crush under our feet those crowned monsters, who, not being even men, have thought themselves Gods. Eh! Legislators,—if the Gods acted like the Despots, we would fight the Gods!"

I need not tell you, that this speech was received with reiterated bursts of acclamation and applause.

The generals of the forces having often applied to the National Assembly, for re-inforcements, and finding that the citizens were not so forward to enlist themselves as the necessity of the case demanded, were resolved to give an additional spur to their activity, by some grand and solemn act that might make a stranger impression on their minds. They, accordingly, had, with the greatest solemnity, published, that the country was in danger; and, on Sunday, the 22nd of July, the decree was proclaimed all over Paris: three guns were fired from the Pont Neuf every hour, from six in the morning till night; square pieces of cloth were hung up at the Hotel de Ville, at the Mairie, on the Pont Neuf, and in several other places, on which was inscribed in large letters, "*Citoyens la patrie est en danger!*" Picturesque scaffoldings, resembling fortifications, were erected in different parts of the town, with tents, ornamented with the national colours and ribbons, in which sat the officers appointed for enlisting and enregistering those who wished to go to Soissons, or to the frontiers; while the municipal officers on horseback paraded about the town, assembled the people by beat of drum, and having commanded silence in the name of the law, informed them, with

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the greateſt ſolemnity, that the country was in danger.

The uncommon appearance of the ſcaffoldings, the novelty and awfulneſs of theſe proceedings, with the repeated cries of "*Vive la nation!*" had ſuch an effect on the minds of the populace, that, in the courſe of a few days, ſeveral thouſands (it was ſaid ten or twelve thouſands) had enrolled themſelves; but the greater part of them were ſo young, as to make the National Aſſembly think it neceſſary to paſs a decree, that every one ſhould be admitted at the age of ſixteen, without regard to their ſize or ſhape. M. Lamarque, however, when this decree was paſſed, threw a little damp over the patriotic expectations of its ſucceſs, by ſenſibly obſerving, that it was not ſufficient for them to have men,—that it was neceſſary alſo that they ſhould have arms.

It was at this time that word was brought to Paris, that the Marſeillois were coming in immenſe numbers threatening vengeance againſt royalty and ariſtocracy. Nothing was talked of, but their arrival, and the wonderful deeds they were to accompliſh. The purpoſes, for which they were to come, were now publicly avowed;—they were to clear the country of its internal enemies (meaning the ariſtocratic party),—reſtore to the legiſlative

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body their long loſt energy,—and preſerve the remains of liberty, by obliging them to dethrone the King.

The day at laſt arrived when theſe glorious warriors, the reſcuers of their country, made their appearance; but inſtead of the thouſands that had been expected, there were only five hundred, and theſe for the greater part ſo badly clothed, and ſo variouſly and ridiculouſly equipped and accoutered, that they would have excited the moſt violent burſts of laughter in any one who had not been already accuſtomed to ſuch ſights: and yet, you will ſcarcely believe the confuſion and fear into which theſe five hundred men threw the whole city of Paris, and overawed every inhabitant into a ſervile compliance with all their demands. The firſt of their lawleſs proceedings was to inſiſt on the immediate diſuſe of all ſilk and ſattin national cockades, which they reſolved to look upon as ſymbols of Ariſtocracy, and to oblige every one to the adoption of woollen ones alone. The ſattin cockades had been generally worn. But the commands of the Marſeillois were ſo implicitly obeyed, that before the evening of the day of their arrival, the price of woollen cockades had riſen from four to forty or fifty ſols. To inforce their commands and to prove the ſincerity of them, they tore the ſilk

cockades

cockades from the hats of every one they met that wore them, insulting and abusing their persons in the grossest manner. Nor did infancy itself escape their insolent cruelty: they had scarcely arrived in Paris, when seeing a child with a piece of national ribbon in his hat, they snatched it from him; the child cried at losing his little finery, and innocently followed them, begging they would restore it, when these horrid wretches called him a sprig of Aristocracy, beat him to the ground, and crushed him under their feet.

They then went to the Elysian Fields, where were a party of National Guards, dining peaceably under the trees. There had for some time been a jealousy between these federates and the National Guards. They went up to them, and insisted on their drinking "*Vive la Nation!*" as the guards did not choose to be dictated to by them, they refused to comply: high words arose, in the course of which the Marseillois accused them of Aristocracy, and one of the guards, a grenadier, called the most forward of them, a "*gros paysan;*" a battle ensued,—the guards were routed, and the grenadier was pursued and massacred.

This spread a general alarm throughout Paris,—the whole city was in a state of confusion and uproar,—the general was beaten in all the streets,—

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the citizens flew to arms,—and the National Guards, with their cannon, marched by thousands to the place on which the scuffle had begun. The Marseillois saluted them with the shouts of "*Vive la Nation!*" to which the greater part of them replied, by the cries of "*Vivent les Federes! Vivent les Marseillois!*" and hoisted and waved their hats on the points of their bayonets: thus, after having waited there for some time, they again put the horses to their cannon, marched back to their respective quarters; and left the Marseillois parading about the streets and the Palais Royal in the most insolent manner, alarming every peaceable citizen, obliging all to shut up their shops, and insulting every one, who, not having heard of their commands, had continued to wear a silk or a sattin cockade.

The King, having been told of the crimes that had been committed, sent a letter to the Assembly on the day after, requesting that they would exert their wisdom and authority to protect the persons and property of the people, expatiating most feelingly, on the crimes that were continually suffered to go unpunished, and the disorders that were daily committed in the capital.

The Assembly then decreed, that all cockades of any quality, provided that they were composed

of the three colours, red, white and blue, were national, and authorised by the law!

But this would not satisfy the Marseillois who still persisted in their resolutions of preventing the use of any other than woollen cockades; and so little confidence had the people in the power and protection of the legislative body, and so great was their fear of the Marseillois, that, notwithstanding the decree that had been passed, no one dared to wear any other than those they commanded.

But the party of National Guards that had been insulted, and that battalion, in particular, to which the grenadier who had been murdered, belonged, did not so patiently bear the outrages that had been committed, and the insolent superiority which the Marseillois had behaved with. They sent a deputation to the Assembly, complaining of their injuries, and demanding that the aggressors should be brought to justice; and added, that if their demand should not be immediately complied with, they would block up the Marseillois in their fauxbourg, and punish them as they deserved. The Assembly, equally fearful of offending either party, referred the business to one of their committees, which was, in fact, taking the surest methods of preventing any further examination of it.

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The Jacobins, now finding themselves so strongly reinforced by men of their own stamp, no longer expended their time and oratory in proclamations of the treachery of the King, but began openly to assert, that the forfeiture of his crown was necessary to the salvation of the country. They procured from all parts, not unsettled and undecisive complaints of the perfidies of Louis the sixteenth, but direct and positive petitions for his being dethroned; and these petitions, though demanding of the Assembly what they had no right to do, though unconstitutional and treasonable in the highest degree, were applauded in proportion to the acrimony and boldness with which they were delivered, and the petitioners were admitted to the honours of the sitting. The federates, being the nearest, were the first employed: their claims, for they cannot be considered as petitions, were generally conceived in very concise terms. Of the various speeches delivered at the bar, on this occasion, one was to the following purpose: "Louis has violated the constitution!—Decree the fall of Louis, and the country is saved!"

A circumstance yet remained which hindered the accomplishment of the purposes of the Jacobins. The King's Guard, at first allowed him by the constitution, had been, as I have before observed,

dismissed; all the regiments of the line also had been sent out of Paris. There still, however, remained a regiment of Swiss guards, which, according to the agreement with the Helvetic body, was expressly and solely at the King's command. These brave men had, on many occasions, shewed their attachment to the King; at least, so far as to appear determined to defend him from insult, and to guard strictly the posts that had been assigned to them. A circumstance that had recently occurred (on the 24th of July), when they prevented the federates and rabble from entering the King's appartment by night, irritated the Jacobins against them, and induced them to procure their dismission likewise.

Thus for doing what was no more than their duty, they were judged by the National Assembly as traitors,—who passed a decree, ordering the executive power to send two battalions of them immediately away.

I will here conclude this letter, and remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER V.

DEAR SIR,

I FINISHED my last letter with a dismission of a part of the Swiss guards, in the beginning of August, and shall now proceed to Wednesday the 8th, when the order of the day called up the examination into the conduct of M. La Fayette.

This enquiry not being intended to try M. La Fayette for his imputed crimes, but only to resolve, in consequence of the numerous petitions the Assembly had received against him, whether or not he should be put in a state of accusation,—yet as the decision of this question had an immediate and important effect on the Jacobins and the mob, I shall therefore give you a short account of what was advanced against him, and what was pleaded in his defence.

I have already informed you of the business of the Letter—with a copy which M. La Fayette sent to the National Assembly in the month of June.

I likewise mentioned his visit to the National Assembly, and the subject of his discourse at the bar.

The chief ground of complaint against him was formed on these two circumstances, but the National Assembly, notwithstanding the declamations of the Jacobins, and the frequent denunciations of

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the mob against La Fayette, did not think that these circumstances alone could authorize them to put him in a state of accusation, and frequently passed to the order of the day when the subject had been proposed. Several of the members, who were named Aristocrats, had noticed, that as no law existed, at the time of his coming to Paris, that made his appearance at the bar culpable in any respect, it would be very severe and unjust to judge him by one that had been made subsequent to that event. Some members had proposed that the minister of War should be questioned, whether or not he had given La Fayette leave to quit his army. This proposal, however, being put to the *appel nominal* (that the mob might know who voted on their side of the question), was negatived. The Jacobins, therefore, being disappointed in their first endeavours to revenge themselves on La Fayette, and fearing they should not be able to bring him to a state of accusation for that part of his conduct which, having been publicly observed, could not be misrepresented, had recourse to other measures which were as follows.

Sometime in the month of July, Luckner had been at Paris, and, after he was gone, it was asserted by some Jacobin members, that he had de-

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clared to them, that M. La Fayette had made proposals to him to march with his army against Paris.

This report was assiduously spread all over Paris, and the usual measures were taken to procure the destruction of La Fayette. Numberless petitions, were sent to the Assembly, demanding that he should be publicly accused: several members had already spoken on the subject, and a day was purposely appointed for taking into consideration the circumstances alleged against him. M. Lasource had entered his name for the first word, and, accordingly, on the 21st of July, he ascended the tribune, and spoke as follows:

"I come to overthrow an idol to whom incense has been paid too long: I myself partook of the error of his adorers: I come, disabused, to expiate that dreadful error.

"How should I not be disabused?—I have seen him, I have heard him,—the audacious man,—attacking the majesty of the representatives of the sovereign, (meaning the people) devoting them to execration, or to contempt,—representing them as the slaves of a faction, as villains, or as cowards. He demands the blood of some, the oblivion of others.

"He has said to us, 'let the royal power be inviolate.' Oh perfidy! It is precisely what Leopold

has

has said to us. Is it a reproach that La Fayette addresses to us? Is it a suspicion that he manifests? One case or the other is a great crime.

" He came afterwards to dictate laws to us, and brave our power: he came to bring us the wish of all his army. Ah! if the vengeance of the law ought to fall on the head of a guilty man, was there ever a more horrible villain?—He told us that he came to present himself *alone!*—Present thyself alone! Insolent conspirator! Could'st thou, then, audacious Cataline, have come preceded by cannon, and surrounded by bayonets, to cut the throats of the representatives of the people?

" The impostor had distributed amongst his army * hundred thousand livres worth of rum: it is by these infamous means that the traitor seduces his army. But these crimes are nothing;—here is one a thousand times more dreadful:—He wished to lead his troops against the capital. Bureaux de Puzy made the proposition to Luckner.

" I invoke to this the testimony of M. M. Brissot, Guadet, Gensonnent, Lamarque, and Herault de Sechelles. I demand that M. Luckner should be called to speak the truth; and if I have deceived the Assembly, I consent to be as vile, as hated, as despised, as execrated as the abominable traitor La Fayette.

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"That La Fayette dares to think that his love of liberty cannot be disputed. I dispute it with him, —with *him*, that atrocious man: I dispute it with him,—with *him*, that man still quite disgustingly loathsome with the blood of his fellow citizens,—that man, the most horrible of our enemies."

This speech was received with the greatest approbation and applause, by the patriots and the rabble in the tribunes.

I cannot repeat what was urged in La Fayette's defence, nor is it necessary.—The debate was long. At last, some members desired that the discussion should be closed. M. M. Fauchet, Bazire and Chabot declared against it. The dispute concerning the closing of the discussion became tumultuous, and the tribunes assisted in the confusion by loading the Assembly with hisses, bravoes, murmurs, or applauses, as they thought they seemed inclined to take the right or the wrong side.

In this tumult, the president complained that one of the tribunes hissed even close behind him. He gave orders to the guards to arrest the spectator *who had so much forgot himself*. "Come, let's be gone," cried the people in the tribunes;—let us be gone,—we will stay no longer with them;" and a violent commotion took place. The president put on his hat, (a custom when there is a dissension in

the Assembly)—the uproar subsided by degrees, and peace was at length restored.

M. Brissot arose and desired that the discussion might be prorogued. M. Fauchet demanded the adjournment of it, till M. Luckner should have declosed himself on the fact alleged, and informed the Assembly whether or not M. La Fayette had proposed to him to march the two armies to Paris.

The following certificate was laid on the table and remitted to the commission of twenty-one:—

"Some members of the National Assembly having had an opportunity of seeing M. the Marechal Luckner, on the evening of the 17th of July, at the house of the Bishop of Paris, and having asked him if it was true, that it had been proposed to him, on the part of M. La Fayette, to march to Paris with his army, after the event of the 20th of June,—M. the Marechal Luckner answered in these terms:—*I do not deny it; it was M. Bureau de Puzy,—he who has been, I think, three times president of the National Assembly. I replied to him, I shall never lead the army I command but against our external enemies. La Fayette is at liberty to do what he pleases; but if he marches to Paris, I will march after him and I will drub him. M. Bureau de Puzy then said to me, But the life of the King is in danger! There is*

what he said to me; and they made me other proposals still more horrible."

« Such were the exact expressions of the Marechal Luckner, which we heard, and which we attest. (*Signed*) BRISSOT, GUADET, GENSONNET, LASOURCE, LAMARQUE, DELMAS."

At the instant the Assembly were discussing this business, the president announced that a number of citizens, alarmed for the safety of the Assembly, demanded admission. A member returned « We are in no danger." The Assembly passed to the order of the day.

It was again declared by the president, that a great multitude of people were proceeding towards the Thuilleries. A motion was made that the Mayor of Paris should be immediately sent for. The Assembly were informed that he was there. He appeared, and observed, that he had seen nothing alarming about the Assembly,—that the citizens who had wished to enter into the Thuilleries had promised him to remain quietly at the gates of the garden.

Many of the members proposed that the subject concerning La Fayette should be put off to another day. Long and tumultuous debates ensued, in which the spectators bore the greatest share. It was at last determined, that the subject should be

adjourned, until further information ſhould be received. The ſitting was broke up; and the Aſſembly, having come to no final determination relative to La Fayette,—their *ſovereign* (the people), who were waiting to pronounce judgment on their deciſion, diſperſed, and retired to their own homes.

For further information, a letter was diſpatched to M. Luckner, deſiring to know if M. La Fayette had ever made a propoſal to him to march with his army to Paris.

Another was ſent to La Fayette, to aſk of him, whether or not he had ever made ſuch a propoſal to M. Luckner.

They ſummoned M. Bureaux de Puzy to appear before them at the bar of the Aſſembly, to declare all he knew concerning the charges that had been held out againſt M. La Fayette.

The ſlanderers of M. La Fayette were contradicted immediately by M. Bureaux de Puzy, who having obeyed the ſummons of the Aſſembly, and being admitted to the bar, expreſſed his regret that the Aſſembly ſhould have appeared to give any weight to the moſt improbable calumnies, which occaſioned diſputes among the Legiſlative Body, and attacked men of an approved patriotiſm.

"If I had had the intention," ſaid he, "of ſeconding my general in the enterpriſe that is attributed

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to us, I ſhould have thought the undertaking juſt; no power on earth ſhall prevent me from ſpeaking the truth here.

"I am proceeding to tell you, gentlemen, the truth. It will appear perfectly demonſtrated to you, that the project that is attributed to us is impoſſible, and inconceivable to every one but my calumniators.

"I ſhall produce before your eyes the copies of thoſe letters which compoſed the correſpondence, of which I was the intermediary, between the two generals. My general has permitted me to copy them. He has, alſo, permitted me to reveal the plans of operations that have been executed."

M. de Puzy here deſcribed thoſe plans by which the enemy's country was attacked by Marechal Luckner's army, while that of M. La Fayette was ſtationed before Mons, to act as auxiliary.

"M. La Fayette," continued he, "was obliged to act that part, otherwiſe he would have endangered his army and all France. I ſhall now preſent you with a true picture of all that paſſed between Marechal Luckner and myſelf.

"So ſoon as the events of the 20th of June were known to the army, there was but one united voice of diſapprobation. Men, who were not to be ſuſpected with regard to their patriotiſm or cou-

rage,

rage, came to demand of their general whether they were fighting for liberty or anarchy. Urged by the necessity of dissipating all distrust and want of confidence, M. La Fayette resolved to come to Paris.

"Before he executed that resolution, M. La Fayette sent me to M. Luckner, and charged me with a letter, in which, after having submitted to the Marechal several plans of attack and defence, he acquainted him with his intentions of undertaking a journey to Paris, and asked him if he could see any inconvenience that might attend it.

"The Marechal appeared very much concerned about the events of the 20th of June;—he combated M. La Fayette's intentions of going to Paris, only by observing on the personal dangers he might run, and wrote to him, to desire him to reflect himself whether his absence might not be dangerous to him.

"About that time, when the two armies were making a grand movement, M. La Fayette conceived the project of taking advantage of the moment in which the two armies would be united: he saw the possibility of attacking, at that time, the enemy at Mons. M. Luckner did not like the scheme, and M. La Fayette abandoned the idea of it.

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« There is all that has paſſed between Marechal Luckner and me. Judge, therefore, of my aſtoniſhment, when I heard it ſaid, that M. Luckner had denounced me as a conſpirator. My aſtoniſhment increaſed when I found the accuſation had acquired ſome weight. It was at its height, when I underſtood the names and characters of thoſe who had collected the inculpation.

« If the crime, of which I am accuſed, was probable, M. Luckner would have been my accomplice, for not having denounced,—for not having put me in a ſtate of arreſt,—and for not having come to an explanation with M. La Fayette. But I ſhall relate a fact which will throw ſome light on the diſpoſitions of M. Luckner.

« Two days after the accuſation, of which, it is ſaid, he was the author, M. Luckner wrote to M. La Fayette, and ended his letter with theſe words: 'I am informed we are to be denounced,—I am in expectation of receiving further information on this head; but, moſt certainly, I will live in peace, or I will retire." M. Luckner, in a ſecond letter, of which the date is a little poſterior, declares the ſame ſentiments, and expreſſes the greateſt indignation againſt the obſervations it was ſuppoſed he had made concerning M. La Fayette.

« Now,

"Now, gentlemen, judge me. I am not surprised at the audacity of my calumniators: every animal draws its nourishment from aliments that are suitable to it; it is, therefore, that many reptiles live by poison. I hope, however, that my justification will occasion some remorse in the souls of my accusers.

"But, whatever may be their audacity, I declare to them, that, being innocent, I shall never blush. They will never make that man blush, who there, in that place (pointing to the chair of the president), has had the happiness of swearing the first of every Frenchman, to defend the liberty of his country."

After having said this, M. Bureaux de Puzy left the following letter on the table of the Assembly:—

Letter of M. La Fayette *to* Marechal Luckner, *at the Camp of* Tainiere, *the* 22*nd of June*, 1792.

I have so many things to tell you, my dear Marechal, on our political and military situation, that I take the opportunity of sending to you Bureaux de Puzy, who, I know, enjoys your friendship and confidence, and for whom I have professed the same sentiments. Ever since I have breathed, I have lived only for the cause of liberty: I will defend it, till my last sigh, against every species of tyranny;

tyranny; and I cannot ſubmit in ſilence, to that which the factions exerciſe over the National Aſſembly and the King, by obliging the one to violate the conſtitution which we have all ſworn to defend, and by putting the other in danger of his political and phyſical deſtruction.

Such are my ſentiments,—they are thoſe of nineteen-twentieths of the kingdom; but they are afraid,—and, for my part, I am not acquainted with that misfortune. I ſhall ſpeak the truth. With regard to the reſt, my dear Marechal, I ſhall conduct myſelf according to what will appear to you moſt uſeful to your projects; and I am very ſure that, with reſpect to our political ſituation, we ſhall be equally united, ſince we both wiſh loyally to ſerve our cauſe, and keep our oaths.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

On the 30th of July, the miniſter of the Interior ſent the following letter from M. La Fayette to the National Aſſembly:—

"If I had been aſked concerning my principles, I ſhould have anſwered by my conduct,—I ſhould have atteſted my co-operation in the declaration of the rights of man.——But that is not the

 preſent

present business. I am desired to answer respecting a fact.

"I am asked if I ever thought,—if I ever attempted to march to besiege Paris,—to quit the frontiers, to lead my army against the capital. I reply in four words: 'That is not true,'

(Signed) LA FAYETTE,

At the Camp de Longwy,
26th July, 1792.

The following was the answer the president received to his letter, from Marechal Luckner:—

GENTLEMEN,

I feel very poignantly how distressing it is to me, not to be able to speak the language of the country I serve, and to the liberty of which I have devoted the remainder of my life. This difficulty in making myself understood, has, without doubt, been the cause of the difference there is between the conversation I held at the house of the Bishop of Paris, and that which I find in the proces-verbal of the National Assembly, and the decree which has been sent to me.

Never was any proposal of marching to Paris made to me; and I assure you, gentlemen, that if such a proposal had been addressed to me, by any

agent

agent whatever of the public force, I ſhould not have contented myſelf with rejecting it with horror, but I ſhould have thought it my duty to reveal, immediately, to the conſtituted authorities, ſo criminal a project.

It is very afflicting to me, while ſacrificing entirely my tranquillity and repoſe, to ſee ſo dreadful an interpretation of a converſation badly underſtood. I muſt confeſs that, being frequently called upon to anſwer reſpecting objects to which I am equally a ſtranger, and to which I am ſo little accuſtomed, my ſtrength and ſpirits will not long ſupport it, and I ſhall find myſelf under the neceſſity of quitting a poſt which they will not ſuffer me to preſerve.

Permit, gentlemen, an aged foreigner, but whoſe heart is French,—a ſoldier who has allied himſelf to your dangers, and who places all his happineſs in the permanence of the public liberty,—in the maintenance of the conſtitution, and in your glory, —permit him to repeat to you inceſſantly, that the dangers which threaten the country from without, are real: but that if all France, that experiences the influence of the repreſentatives of the people, adjourning every internal diſpute, will give itſelf up with union to the ſafety of the ſtate, the war which we have to ſuſtain, far from conducting us

to the humiliating ſituation of receiving laws and irons from our enemies, may turn to the advantage of the univerſal liberty of all the people of Europe. Such an important alternative demands ſome ſacrifices from all good Frenchmen; and it depends only on the National Aſſembly to invite them to make them with ſucceſs. Union will create the ſtrength of the people,—it will increaſe that of the armies: union alone, by inſpiring an equal contempt for intrigues and factions, will oppoſe a ſtrong dike to the torrent of the combined powers, and will procure the eternal homage of poſterity to thoſe who ſhall have the courage of promoting, and giving the example of it.

(Signed) LUCKNER.

From the above you will judge what credit ought to be given to the atteſtations of the ſix Jacobin members, who aſſerted, that M. Luckner had declared that La Fayette had propoſed to him to march with his army to Paris. It appears, indeed, that even the Aſſembly themſelves depended very little on their veracity, ſince they preferred the teſtimony of three perſons to that of ſix,—ſeven, indeed, for M. Herault de Sechelles had aſſerted the ſame. You will think theſe aſſertions very weak, when I inform you, that they ſuffered M. Luckner to depart

part from Paris before they made them, and that they uſed every exertion to procure an immediate decree of accuſation againſt La Fayette, that he might thereby be ſummoned to appear at the bar of the Aſſembly, inſtead of being permitted to remain with his army, and ſend his anſwer to the charges in a letter. Had he been ſummoned to Paris, and appeared, it is almoſt certain that he would immediately have been maſſacred. Had he been ſummoned, and knowing the villainy of his accuſers, *not* obeyed the ſummons, they would have advanced his refuſal as a proof of his guilt, and thereby, alſo, have eſcaped detection.

I ſhall not ſay any more on this ſubject, but will only add a letter from General Monteſquieu to the friends of the conſtitution at Marſeilles, which will not only ſerve as a further vindication of La Fayette's principles, but will ſhew the union of opinion that exiſted among the generals of the army reſpecting the factions at Paris, and confirm what I have already advanced with regard to the National Aſſembly, the Jacobins, and the Tribunes.

Letter

Letter of GENERAL MONTESQUIEU *to the* FRIENDS *of the* CONSTITUTION *of* MARSEILLES, *(dated) 12th July.*

I have not imitated M. La Fayette; my army has made no petition; we have all remained in that silence which the law impoſes on the armed force: my opinion, therefore, ought not to be ſuſpected by you, for I have no perſonal action to juſtify.

But without being, in any degree, in the confidence of M. La Fayette, I can aſſure you, with certainty, that he is an excellent citizen,—that he is incapable of wiſhing to compound for the conſtitution,—that he is deſirous of maintaining it in its entire ſtate,—and that no perfidy is to be feared from him. All the calumnies, therefore, that are ſpread abroad concerning him, are abſurd: he deſerves none of them.

I will tell you, with the ſame truth, that the Jacobins deſtroy the kingdom, becauſe they are influenced by ſome perverſe men who govern them and are the promoters of that diviſion which has taken away from the kingdom the three-fourths of its ſtrength, at the moment when it had ſo much need of it. If that ſmall number of bad citizens were excluded from the Jacobins,—if the maſs of

good

good citizens could appear in their purity, the kingdom would be ſaved.

I regard, as well as you, the patriotic ſocieties as the rampart of liberty; but it is neceſſary to guard againſt an inconvenience, which depends not on their exiſtence, but on the abuſe that ſome people make of them. We wiſh to be free; but a free people ſhould be governed all as one,—and there is no longer any government, when all the world interfere in it. Now, the patriotic ſocieties are all the world. The authorities conſtituted by the law are as neceſſary as the law; for the law, without miniſters, is an ideal being. If every one judge, at his will, the miniſters of the law,—if he can, at every inſtant, denounce them at random, at one tribune or another, and, by a ſingle denunciation, take from them all the authority the law allows them, there are no longer any means left by which the government can proceed. Such is what happens in a multitude of little towns, where there is not that knowledge which diſtinguiſhes you, and where intriguing men (perhaps all falſe patriots) go with impunity into their reſpective clubs, to ſap with ſafety the baſis of a conſtitution which we have all ſworn to defend, and which, in fact, has no where yet been tried,—for no where are the authorities it has created, reſpected or free in the exer-

ciſe

else of their functions. Even the Legiſlative Power are not free in theirs: the Jacobins of Paris, and the tribunes, paſs the greater number of their decrees.

If this laſt,—if the public danger do not rally every free man,—we are loſt. The powerful enemies whom, with ſo much imprudence, we drew on us, while they were only murmuring againſt our Revolution, have only to combat men divided among themſelves. They will have to contend with Jacobins, with Feuillans, with madmen, with moderators, &c. &c. for theſe ſignals of enmity are very multiplied; but they will not have to contend with Frenchmen, and it will be by our own fault if we ſhould loſe the fruits of ſo much labour.

This is what M. La Fayette ought to have ſeen. I preſume that it is what he *has* ſeen. M. La Fayette could only wiſh to rally every party to the ſtandard of the conſtitution, for his own cauſe is enchained to that. M. La Fayette is ambitious only of glory; he neither wiſhes to be protector nor dictator; he wiſhes to ſave France, and to have the honour of ſaving it. He thought, no doubt, that there were no other means than thoſe he has taken,—for he deviated from his principles in taking them. There, Gentlemen, is what I think of him, and the events that have occurred.

But it is uſeleſs to diſcover the evil, if we ſeek not for the remedy. That can only proceed from the efficacious meaſures of thoſe who are ſure of making themſelves heard. The ſociety of the friends to the conſtitution of Marſeilles, might cover itſelf with glory by giving the ſignal of a general union. It is neceſſary that the ſociety ſhould confine its ſittings to the propagation of the principles of liberty,—that it ſhould have the courage of interdicting to itſelf all right of cenſure over the conſtituted authorities,—that it ſhould cloſe its ſittings whenever a motion be made to attack them, —that it ſhould aboliſh the names of ſects and diviſions in the popular party,——and that it ſhould proclaim theſe principles throughout the kingdom.

It is then that we might hope to form an union compoſed of all the public authorities, ſupported by the whole force of all good citizens. I think that ſtep would be efficacious, for it is all that is feared by the Ariſtocrates, our only, our true enemies; and of whom, I believe, from more than one reaſon, that the men who make ſo much noiſe at the Jacobins in Paris, are the faithful and ſworn allies.

What a dreadful waking would be ours, if we ſhould find ourſelves the victims of a falſe zeal

had led us aſtray; and if, falling under deſpotiſm, we ſhould ſee our perfidious enemies triumphant! With reſpect to myſelf, that ſhall never happen to me; and if I muſt ceaſe to be a free man, it is with you that I will periſh, and it is under your ruins that I will be buried.

(Signed) *The General of the army of the South,*

A. P. MONTESQUIEU.

Thus after a long and tumultuous debate, in the courſe of which La Fayette was loaded with every injurious epithet that the malice of the Jacobins could invent, in which he had been repeatedly abuſed as the vileſt, the moſt villainous of men,—the violator of the conſtitution,—the uſurper of the ſovereignty ——the dictator of 1792,—the aſſaſſin of the Champ de Mars,—it was, however, decreed, by an appel nominal of 406 voices againſt 224, that there was no ground of accuſation againſt him. I will here conclude,

Your moſt obed.

hum. ſervt.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

DEAR SIR,

WHEN the populace who had waited with the greateſt impatience for the deciſion of the Aſſembly concerning La Fayette, expecting it to be againſt him, heard of the determination in his favour, they were enraged to the higheſt pitch of fury. They ſurrounded the Aſſembly, and as thoſe members who had voted againſt the accuſation of La Fayette came out, they abuſed them in the groſſeſt manner, hooting, hiſſing, and throwing dirt and all kinds of filth in their faces. Several members, at the next meeting, complained of the indignity they had ſuffered, but redreſs was not to be had; their complaints were treated with the greateſt inſolence by the Jacobins; the mob were ſovereign, and the ſole judges of right and wrong.

The enquiry into the great queſtion, concerning the depoſing of the King, was expected to take place on the 9th: but the mob, on the 8th, after hearing of the acquittal of La Fayette, were ſuſpicious that the deciſion of the aſſembly would not be according to their wiſhes; and the numberleſs

new reports that were induſtriouſly ſpread of the King's intended treachery, made them ſo impatient that they came to a determination, if the Aſſembly ſhould appear to ſhuffle and delay the buſineſs, to take the law into their own hands.

Among other malicious and inſidious reports that had been ſpread by the Jacobins, to encreaſe the fermentation of the people, was, that Petion was to be aſſaſſinated, another, that a number of ſoldiers had been repeatedly ſeen to go into the Thuilleries with muſquets, and leave them behind,—that a great quantity of arms, ammunition, artillery, bombs, torches, and every kind of offenſive weapons, for the *murder* of the citizens, and the deſtruction and burning of Paris, were concealed in the palace,—that it contained thouſands of men, equipped and armed, who were to be ready, on a ſignal given, to ruſh out, and, in conjunction with other Ariſtocrats, to aſſaſſinate the Patriots.

On information being given of this to the King, he immediately publiſhed a proclamation, in which he invited the mayor, the municipal officers, and any other perſons appointed by the Aſſembly, to come to his palace, and make the ſtricteſt ſearch into every part of it, that, by detecting ſuch a report, the terrors of the people, and their ſuſpicion of their King, might be removed.

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As the King had appointed, the mayor, the municipal officers, and the reſt nominated for that buſineſs, went to the palace, and, no doubt, made the ſtricteſt ſearch.---There was not the leaſt appearance of any of thoſe great and warlike preparations it had been ſaid were to be found there; they found not the ſmalleſt part of that vaſt quantity of arms, ammunition, artillery, &c. which was ſuppoſed to have been concealed in the palace.

Had any refuſal been made to ſearching the palace, it might have been the cauſe of ſuch ill-grounded ſuggeſtions. But no ſuch refuſal took place; on the contrary, wherever he preſented himſelf, the doors were directly opened, and every part of the palace was voluntarily ſubmitted, by the King's commands, to the inſpection of M. Petion.

M. Petion having examined the palace, publiſhed an account of the interior ſtate of it; but in ſuch a manner, without *anſwering for any thing*, as left room for the people to imagine that every door of the palace had not been opened to him, and that the reports (for any thing he knew) of the military preparations might ſtill be well grounded.

The National Aſſembly ſhewing an inclination to poſtpone the diſcuſſion concerning the depoſing of the King, raiſed the indignation of the mob to the greateſt height, who thought it ſhould be deci-

ded

ded immediately. The disturbance increased every moment in a dreadful manner. M. Rœderer appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and told them he was in fear, that a violent commotion would soon take place. The mayor declared also, that he could not answer for the peace of the city after midnight. Every body knew that there was an intention of beating the general and ringing the alarm bell at that hour, to rouse the citizens to arms, and to attack the palace.

Thus circumstanced; every one armed himself in the best manner he could;——friends gathered together,——some for their own protection,——some to join the *common cause*,——others in hopes of having an opportunity of opposing it openly. They, who were firmly and particularly attached to the King, ran to the palace, resolving to defend and protect, or die with him; for it was supposed by all that he would not survive the next day.

Many persons were sent by the King into the different fauxbourgs, to examine into the state of the capital. The news they returned with served only to augment his concern. He sent for the mayor, to advise with him on the best means of restoring tranquillity.

He accordingly came; but as nothing was to be hoped from his influence over the populace, it

was propoſed, that he ſhould be kept there as an hoſtage: this was agreed to. The department, finding that neither the Aſſembly nor the municipality had any means to preſerve the peace, ordered out a party of grenadiers and Chaſſeurs of the National Guards, on whom they thought they could moſt ſafely rely, to defend the palace.

Immediately as the clock ſtruck twelve, the tocſin or alarm, and the general were heard in many ſections, particularly in the fauxbourgs Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau. The bells on the Pont Neuf ſtruck up Ca ira. The Marſeillois and the Bretons, immediately, obeyed the ſummons, and they were not long alone: the mob armed themſelves, and repaired to the different corps-de-garde: ſome went to the place of the commons, where the council-general were aſſembled. Petion was not there: and his being abſent cauſed the greateſt uneaſineſs among his party, which the municipal officers increaſed, by telling them where he was. Several parties immediately ran to the National Aſſembly, where ſome of the members were arrived already. The rabble diſpatched meſſengers to all the Jacobins to require their inſtant attendance. They came; and, the number for opening the ſitting being complete, the tribunes demanded and obtained a decree, that the King

ſhould

ſhould be obliged immediately to releaſe M. Petion. The order was ſent to the palace; and, though the moſt rebellious proceedings were, at that moment, going on in Paris, ſuch as threatening the deſtruction of the King and his family, yet it was punctually obeyed, and M. Petion was given up. He made his appearance at the bar, and was, afterwards, led back to the commons by the populace, attended with the fondeſt acclamations.

The mob now paraded the ſtreets in different parties, increaſing their numbers as their adherents joined them from all parts.

It is natural to you to ſuppoſe that none during this ſtate of univerſal inſurrection, who were likely to be at all concerned in its conſequences, would remain perfectly quiet. Many, without being particularly partial to either party, might, from anxiety or curioſity, have been walking about, to ſee what was going on; and as a few, in ſuch perilous times, would have choſen to walk alone, a group of twenty or thirty perſons might have been collected, without any hoſtile intentions. This, however, the mob did not chooſe to think could be the caſe; for, meeting with a party of twenty or thirty men, whom they conſidered to be, and who indeed were ariſtocrats, they directly ſurrounded them, took them priſoners, and, having carried

them

them to the place de Vendome, executed nine on the ſpot, gave their heads to boys to be carried about on pikes, and the reſt they impriſoned in a guard-houſe near the National Aſſembly, from whence they were taken in the morning and maſſacred.

During the night, a party of about two or three hundred, who were attached to the royal cauſe, paraded round the neighbourhood of the Theatre Francois: it was imagined that their deſigns were to have joined a detachment of the battalion of Henry the Fourth on the Pont Neuf, to attack Petion and the Marſeillois, encamped on the Pont Saint Michael. The aſſemblies of the ſection, on that ſuppoſition, decreed, that Petion ſhould remain in the council-hall, guarded by four hundred citizens, who ſhould anſwer for his life and ſafety.

A heavy complaint had been made by M. Petion, after his return from the palace, againſt M. Mandat, commandant-general of the National Guard, who, he ſaid, had treated him with great incivility, as he was paſſing from the palace to the National Aſſembly. This complaint was made an excuſe for a general change of power, which immediately took place. M. Mandat was arreſted and confined in priſon,—the ſections adminiſtered the buſineſs of the commons, proviſionally, with com-

 miſſaries,

miſſaries,—the whole of the Etat Major were directly diſmiſſed,——the moſt determined Jacobins were appointed to command,—and Santerre was made commandant-general of all the troops in Paris. The mayor, Manuel, and his colleague, were all that were conſidered deſperate enough to remain in the municipality: all the other officers belonging to it were turned off, and the moſt notoriouſly factious were choſen in their places.

During the time of theſe tranſactions at the commons, the rabble were collecting from the different fauxbourgs, and proceeding in a tumultuous manner to the Place de Carouſel, (adjoining the palace) armed with all ſorts of weapons. The battalions began to be formed, with their cannon at their head. I muſt here inform you, that at the time of the attack of the Baſtile, in July, 1789, they took poſſeſſion of the cannon of the Invalids, which, after that memorable event, had been given them as the reward of their valour. Santerre having obtained the power he had ſo long aimed at, was determined to exerciſe it to anſwer his purpoſe; he accordingly ſent a meſſenger to Eſſone, near which place there was a powder magazine, for ammunition for the National Guards, and the cannon and fuſils of the mob and the federates. There being a ſcarcity of ammunition in Paris, the rebels

found

found themſelves obliged to wait 'till the ſupply ſhould arrive; as they were determined to do their buſineſs effectually. Part of them amuſed themſelves, during this time, with the execution I have before mentioned, and with carrying in proceſſion the heads of the unfortunate men they had maſſacred, to excite the fury of their companions, and uſe them to the ſight of blood.

The battalion of Henry the Fourth, while things were in this ſituation, having got poſſeſſion of the Pont Neuf, declared themſelves in oppoſition to the rebels, and went ſo far as to direct a part of their artillery againſt the Rue Dauphine, and on the ſide where the Marſeillois had collected. The rabble from the fauxbourg St Germain, would not diſpute with them the paſſage of the bridge, nor did the Marſeillois ſo far lay aſide their principal intent as to think it worth while to attack them, or to put themſelves in their way; they, therefore proceeded by the Rue St Honore to the place de Carouſel.

It is not to be imagined, that while all Paris was in this ſtate of confuſion, that the King went to bed: nor, as the deſign of the attack was evidently on the ſide of the rebels, can he be blamed, by any reaſonable perſon, for doing every thing in his power to defend himſelf; and as it was impoſſible

for him to know how ſoon the attack would begin, he had not a moment to loſe from endeavouring to ſecure the fidelity of the Swiſs and National Guards, who had been drawn up to protect the palace. On the faith of the Swiſs he knew he could rely, as well as on the different friends who had, in this moment of danger, gathered about his perſon. The National Guards had promiſed to defend him to the laſt. About ſix o'clock in the morning, he went and reviewed them in the Prince's Court, they attended him back to his apartments, aſſuring him of their attachment, and crying, *Vive le Roi!*

Before the Marſeillois and the moſt determined rebels arrived, at the court gate of the palace, a crowd of people preſented themſelves. Some Swiſs Guards deſired to know what they wanted? They anſwered, that they wiſhed to enter. The Swiſs told them that they could not enter unleſs they would promiſe to cry, *Vive le Roi!* A great number of them immediately cried out, *Vive le Roi!* and were anſwered by the Swiſs Guards, the grenadiers and chaſſeurs from within, by a general ſhout. The Swiſs were deliberating about their admiſſion, when a loud cry of, *Vive la Nation!* was heard in the Place de Carouſel, and drew near the gate with continual repetitions;—it was the cry of the fauxbourgs. They demanded admiſſion, which was

refuſed

refuſed. They perſevered in their tumultuous outcries, and were at laſt joined in them by ſome of the National Guards in the palace, who, from what cauſe cannot be aſcertained, now exclaimed, "Vive la Nation!"

Not long after, the King ordered a party of Swiſs and National Guards to eſcort him, the Queen, the Dauphin, Madam Elizabeth, and the Princeſs de Lamballe, to the National Aſſembly, where, having ſeated himſelf on the left-hand of the preſident, (his family being at the bar) he told them, that he had come there, in hopes of preventing a great crime.

What were the King's motives for this part of his conduct, I cannot give you any account. He could not have fled to the National Aſſembly as a ſanctuary for his crown; for he muſt have known that the principal part of it were reſolved on his deſtruction; and his paſt conduct would, in my opinion, ſecure him from the imputation of having done it from a regard to his perſonal ſafety. He might indeed conſider the ſafety of the Queen, the Dauphin, his daughter and his ſiſter, as having greater claims on his feelings than the care of his perſon, his intereſts, or his property. But, whatever were his motives, it is certain that policy will not juſtify them; and his retreat may perhaps, with

with juſtice, be aſcribed to one of thoſe unknown impulſes of high-wrought ſenſation, to which prudence, reaſon and judgment ſometimes give way; and from which, we are none of us at all times capable of guarding ourſelves.

Having remained a ſhort time by the ſide of the preſident, he obſerved, that he interrupted the deliberations of the Aſſembly, and went over to his family at the bar. Stiil, however, his preſence prevented their proceeding to buſineſs: he, therefore, was again forced to change his ſituation, and went with his family into the room of the tachigraphs.

The confuſion ſtill increaſed, the people continued inceſſantly to ring the tocſin, and beat the general; immenſe crouds preſſed round the Aſſembly, demanding the immediate dethronement of the King; the tribunes, by their riotous conduct, ſeemed reſolved that no debate ſhould take place on the ſubject, but that the words only, "the King is dethroned" ſhould be pronounced. Their alarmed repreſentatives, yielding to the neceſſity of the caſe, aſſured the tribunes that the decree they wiſhed was about to be pronounced; the preſident, then having called them to order, and procured with difficulty ſome degree of ſilence, the Aſſem-

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bly, in frightened haſte, on the report of M. Vergniaud, declared—

"The National Aſſembly, conſidering that the diſtruſts of the executive power are the ſources of all our evils,—that theſe diſtruſts have provoked, from all parts of the kingdom, the wiſh of revoking the authority given to Louis the Sixteenth by the conſtitution;—

"That the only means of conciliating what they owe to the welfare of the people, and what they owe to their oaths not to increaſe their power, are to refer to the ſovereign authority of the nation, decree as follows:—

ART. I. The French people are invited to form a National Convention: the committee ſhall, tomorrow, propoſe a plan to indicate the model and period of this Convention.

II. The executive power is proviſionally ſuſpended from his functions, until the National Convention ſhall have decreed the meaſures neceſſary to be taken for maintaining the national independence. By an amendment adopted, the civil liſt is ſuſpended, and the committee ſhall indicate the ſum that the Legiſlative Body ought to aſſign for the ſubſiſtence of the King and his family.

III. The

III. The ſix miniſters, now in activity, ſhall exercise the executive power: the extraordinary committee ſhall preſent, during the day, a plan for the organiſation of the miniſtry.

IV. The extraordinary commiſſion ſhall preſent a plan of a decree, for the nomination of a governor for the Prince Royal.

V. The King and the royal family ſhall remain with the Legiſlative Body: the department ſhall order a lodging to be prepared, during the day, at the Luxembourg, to receive the King and his family.

VI. The King and his family are placed under the ſafe-guard of the law, and their guard intruſted to the National Guard of Paris.

VII. All public functioners, officers or ſoldiers, who ſhall quit their poſts, ſhall be declared infamous, and traitors to their country.

VIII. The department ſhall order the preſent decree to be proclaimed during the day.

IX. The preſent decree ſhall be ſent, during the day, to the eighty-three departments, by extraordinary couriers.

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I will here conclude this letter and remain with the greateſt eſteem.

Yours, &c.

LETTER VII.

DEAR SIR,

THE decrees with which I finiſhed my laſt were ſcarcely completed by the National Aſſembly, when the firing of cannon was heard: the affrighted repreſentatives immediately ſtarted up, and began to quarrel with each other who ſhould be firſt out of the hall. The preſident, ſeeing he was likely to be left alone, called to them, and reminded them, that, let the danger be what it might, they were in their proper places. This remonſtrance had the effect intended on a great number of the members, though many ſtill preferred their own ſafety to the riſque of preſerving the remains of a conſtitution, which they had but a few moments before wounded in its moſt vital part.

Thoſe who remained in the Aſſembly were in a ſhort time informed of the cauſe of what had ſo much alarmed them. The loud and repeated cries of "To arms! To arms! We are betrayed! The Swiſs are

 firing

firing on the citizens! They have already killed an hundred Marſeillois!" ſoon reſounded in their ears, —the firing of cannon and muſquetry continued, —the tribunes hurried out of the galleries, and left their aſtoniſhed repreſentatives, confined, through fear of ſhame, to a perplexed and riotous ſitting.

I have told you that Santerre having the command of the rabble had ſent to Eſſonne for ammunition, this was now arrived and about half after ten o'clock, all the rebels had aſſembled in the place de Carouſel, with the Marſeillois at their head, to whom, as they were judged the moſt deſperate and determined, the cannon of the fauxbourgs had been principally aſſigned. They marched with order and regularity,—went up to the court gate eight in front, with their cannon, and ſummoned the Swiſs within to open it, which being refuſed, a gun was fired againſt the palace from the further part of the place de Carouſel; but being raiſed to avoid the caſerns of the Swiſs, the ball ſtruck the upper part of the palace, and returned without doing execution. Several others were immediately fired without effect; when the Marſeillois full of impatience burſt open the court-gate with their cannon and ruſhed in crying, *Vive la Nation!* This accompliſhment of their purpoſe attended

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with the loudeſt acclamations, of the populace in the place de Carouſel, and followed by an irregular diſcharge of muſquetry againſt the windows of the palace (which was at the ſame time attacked at the ſouth end by cannon and muſquetry, from the Pont Royal). The principal part of the Swiſs Guards were in the apartments of the palace, as were alſo a part of the National Guards. Some of the National Guards were drawn up, with their cannon, in a line before the palace; and others, with the remaining platoons of Swiſs, were planted on each ſide of the court. The Marſeillois ſtill advanced, followed by the battalion des Cordeliers, and an immenſe crowd of pikemen at their heels. They continued crying out, *Vive la Nation!* and ſummoned the palace to ſurrender; which ſummons being anſwered from the palace, by the cries of *Vive le Roi!* they began the attack. The Swiſs and National Guards received the immediate orders to fire. This was inſtantly obeyed by the Swiſs; and a heavy diſcharge of well-directed muſquetry, from all parts of the palace, and the Swiſs in the court, did dreadful execution among the rebels: but the National Guards who were in the courts, and had promiſed the Swiſs faithfully to protect them, refuſed to fire; and, excepting ſome grenadiers of the Battalion des Filles Saint Thomas, and ſome other individu-

als of them, who remained faithful to their promise, wheeled about and joined the rebels. The cannoniers also left their posts; but as they could not use their cannon with effect against the palace, they joined the populace with their sabres. The National Guards, who had come into the court with the rebels, on the first discharge from the Swiss, attempted to run away; but being hindred from escaping, by the multitude that rushed into the court, they found themselves compelled to return and join the conflict. The Marseillois, on the contrary, stood firm; and though near an hundred of them had fallen by the first fire of the Swiss, their places were supplied without the least fear or delay; and they maintained their ground, and fought with a degree of courage and intrepidity, that would have been an honour to them in a nobler cause. The conflict now became general and terrible. The palace was attacked on all sides, and defended with equal obstinacy by all who were within. The National Guards within the palace, so long as they could hope for victory, continued to defend the Swiss. Cannon was discharged on the palace, from all sides, the gardens, the Pont Royal, the Place de Carousel, and the Princes' Court; but the artillery, consisting only of small pieces, did little or no execution: the musquetry also of the rabble had

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as ſlight an effect; the Swiſs in the apartments being defended by the ſtrong walls, and they who were at firſt in the courts, having retired into their caſerns, and firing from them; while the increaſing diſcharge of muſquetry from the windows of the palace, cauſed a dreadſul and extenſive ſlaughter; and men, women and children, confounded in the general carnage fell by hundreds.

Although the Bretons and the Marſeillois ſaw their comrades fall in great numbers around them, they ſtill maintained the attack with amazing boldneſs, but without gaining any ground: ten, at leaſt, on their own ſide fell to one on the other, and victory ſeemed beyond their reach; but they were reſolved to ſet the example of perſevering intrepidity to the multitudes about them, whoſe numbers muſt eventually have enſured ſucceſs, had all the leaders of the attack periſhed in their attempt. They were, however, in a ſhort time, very effectually reinforced: the cavalry of the National Gendarmerie came in to their aſſiſtance, poured down upon the caſerns of the Swiſs with torches, and ſet fire to them. The Swiſs ſo well defended their little barracks, that forty horſes, and five and twenty of the gendarmerie, fell in the attack. But they could not ſo well reſiſt the fire which flamed round them: they found themſelves under the

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neceſſity of attempting a retreat, and if poſſible gain the palace. It was here that the pikemen ſeized the opportunity of diſplaying their brutality. As the guards, preſſed by the raging element, ſtrove to avoid the fire by getting out at the windows of their caſerns, theſe horrid wretches thruſt them back into the flames with their pikes. Some, however, with the brave National Guards who had remained faithful to them, eſcaped this torture, and fought their way into the palace. The contest now became unequal on their ſide; they had only their bayonets and ſabres to defend them, while the rebels were ſufficiently ſupplied with ammunition of all kinds.—The National Guards fighting on both ſides, cauſed a great confuſion, and the general tumult and diſorder that prevailed, occaſioned many fatal miſtakes, National Guards, on each ſide, fell by thoſe of their own party. It was not ſo with the brave Swiſs, who were ſufficiently known by their red coats; and thoſe who had fled from their caſerns were ſlaughtered and mangled in the moſt ſhocking manner.

The Swiſs, who were in the apartments, ſeeing what was going on in the court, and perceiving their ammunition almoſt exhauſted, determined to deſcend and take poſſeſſion of the cannon of the rebels. They accordingly formed themſelves, and

made a desperate sally: they repulsed the rabble with great slaughter,—seized three cannon, and turned them against the mob, but having no matches, they contrived to fire them with the flints of their musquets. This discharge did great execution: but they had no sooner descended, than the National Guards, who had been with them in the palace, and who had, while there, fought on their side, (fearing, perhaps, that there were no longer any hopes of their success, and being willing to conciliate the favour of the rebels) turned their arms against them, and fired at them from the windows. The Swiss, notwithstanding, pursued the rebels beyond the Place de Carousel, where they took possession of two more cannons: but, having now spent all their ammunition, and finding the torrent of people continually pouring in upon them on all sides, and overwhelming them, they were obliged to attempt a retreat, and endeavour to fight their way back to the palace; but in this attempt, they were soon separated and dispersed. There now remained not the least hopes of success: the greater part of them had fallen in the bloody conflict, and the rest knew that the rabble would shew them no mercy. They separated and fled several ways to hide themselves from their resistless fury.—Some, having got into the palace,

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endeavoured to conceal themſelves in various parts of it,—and others, who had been wounded during the attack, ſtill remained in it. The friends of the King, his attendants, his ſervants, and all who had been in the palace before the conflict began, were ſtill there, excepting a few only who had contrived to eſcape during the general tumult. The rabble ſoon got poſſeſſion of the palace, and a horrid maſſacre was begun in the interior parts of it. Every one who was found there, armed or unarmed, was immediately ſacrificed without mercy or diſtinction. The veſtibule, the great ſtaircaſe, the chapel, all the antichambers, the galleries, the audience and council halls, were inſtantly filled by the rabble, who ſtrewed the floors with the dead bodies of the Swiſs, the friends and attendants of the King, and deluged them with their blood. They penetrated into every part of the palace, and ſearched in every place for victims. An abbe, tutor to the Dauphin, had concealed eight perſons in his apartment, in a large preſs, of which, unluckily, he held the keys in his hand, when they came to hunt for food for their barbarity. They queſtioned him with the moſt horrid imprecations: his perplexity fruſtrated his humane deſigns. They ſeized the keys, opened the preſs, and having diſcovered what they called his treachery, they maſ-

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ſacred him, and all thoſe whom he had in vain endeavoured to hide from their brutality.

There were ſome who tried to conceal themſelves on the roof of the palace: but being ſeen by the rebels in the courts, they called to their fellows in the apartments to inform them of it: hundreds inſtantly flew to them,—the unfortunate fugitives were ſurrounded,—ſome were killed on the ſpot, —others were thrown from the battlements to the rabble in the courts, who finiſhed their exiſtence by mangling them with ſwords and pikes, or flinging them into the fire of the caſerns. Neither the kitchens, the cellars, nor any part whatever of the palace, eſcaped the ſtricteſt ſearch. All whom they met, men, women and children, of whatever ſituation, ſhared the ſame fate,—being in the palace, was crime ſufficient.

But they did not confine their fury only to the palace; the unfortunate Swiſs were purſued and hunted like wild beaſts, wherever they had fled for ſafety. In the gardens of the Thuilleries, in the Elyſian Fields, in the woods, on the Quais,—in all parts ſome victims fell. Not only thoſe who endeavoured to defend the palace were maſſacred, but they carried their barbarous cruelty ſo far as to murder every Swiſs, of whatever occupation, they could find: the porters of the palace, of ho-

tels and churches, were murdered, with their wives and children, without mercy or regard to innocence.

A number of unfortunate men, to the amount of ſixty or ſeventy, had ſurrendered to the National Guards, under promiſe of mercy, and had ſuffered themſelves to be taken to the commons, where they were aſſured that they ſhould have a fair trial. They were aſked a few queſtions, and it was decreed by the magiſtrates that they ſhould be ſent to priſon until further examination. The rabble, however, were reſolved to take the law, and the execution of it, into their own hands: and, as they deſcended, they took the Swiſs from the guards one by one, and either ſhot or cut them to pieces, each endeavouring to rival the other in the excellence of ſlaughter and decapitation, and laughing at, and ridiculing the tortures of the victims.

A gentleman, M. Clement Tonnerre, although he had not been in the palace, yet being ſuſpected of Ariſtocracy, was dragged from his chariot in the ſtreet de Seves Saints, and murdered on the ſpot. No farther excuſe for any ſpecies of barbarity was wanting.

A M. d'Affry, who by making ſome obſervations to the king, which prevented the immediate diſmiſſion of the Swiſs battalions, was judged to have

 committed

committed a ſufficient crime for death, and the rabble went to his houſe to ſearch for him. He fled on their approach, but was unfortunately taken in the ſtreet des Petits Auguſtins. A ſtrong party of national Guards ſurrounded, and with much trouble conducted him ſafe to the priſon of the Abbaye; where, however, he afterwards fell a victim to the fury of the mob.

A wretched Swiſs, being purſued to the Pont Neuf, and ſeeing before him another party of rabble advancing, leaped over the battlements into the river. The ſavages fired at him as he ſwam; and at laſt gratified their revenge, by killing him in the water.

A large party of National Guards, pikemen and others had been ſent to intercept the Swiſs from Courbevoie, who had been ordered to come to Paris to defend the palace: they met with them at the further end of the Elyſian Fields. The Swiſs were ſoon told of what was doing in Paris, and ordered to lay down their arms and return, which they, at firſt, refuſed to do; but being ſaluted by the rebels with a diſcharge of cannon and muſquetry, they were obliged to yield to ſuperior force, and fled.

As ſoon as all who were found in the palace were maſſacred, the mob began to plunder it:

but, although they brought ſome part of the money, jewels and plate to the National Aſſembly, who received theſe rebels, murderers and plunderers with ſhouts of approbation and applauſe, yet it is certain, that three fourths, at leaſt, of the King's property, was not given in. It is but juſtice, however, to the principal rebels, to ſay, that they would not ſuffer every one indiſcriminately to ſhare in the ſpoil: for, having detected ſeveral, as they ſaid, in the act of thieving, to ſhew their abhorrence of diſhoneſty, they killed them on the ſpot; not conſidering, perhaps, that the act of robbery conſiſted eſſentially in taking away the property from the perſon to whom it lawfully belonged; and that they themſelves, and the National Aſſembly, the receivers of the ſtolen goods, were as faulty, and as deſerving of puniſhment, as the unfortunate victims of their excluſive villany. The greateſt part of the property found in the palace belonged to the King and Queen, as individual citizens; and ſo long as that is withheld from them, the perſons ſo withholding it are, as well as the perſons who firſt ſtole it, guilty of the worſt kind of theft.

But thoſe who were deſtroyed in the palace, as imputed thieves, were not the only ones whom the ſentimental delicacy of the rebels ſacrificed in the ſup-

port of their characters: there were very near an hundred more, whom none knew, were murdered, during the course of the day, the night, and the next morning; while these good men thought it not dishonesty to riot in the King's kitchens and cellars, feasting upon his provisions, and intoxicating themselves with his wine.

I cannot avoid adding, though I must own with an increased degree of horror, that, during these dreadful transactions, the female furies (for I cannot call them women) of Paris seemed anxious for a supereminence in barbarity: the refinements on torture, and the excesses of inhumanity, fell principally to their part. One of the Swiss Guards flying from his pursuers, met one of these furies at the head of a banditti, and, having been acquainted with her formerly, he indulged some hopes of her protection: he flew to her, begging, from the recollection of their former friendship, she would be so kind as to save him. "Yes!" replied she, "I know you, and I will save you." He advanced to thank her;——she cut him with a sabre till he died.

The horrid circumstances I am now going to relate, you will scarcely credit, they surely exceed every thing yet heard of. The rabble having now massacred all in and about the palace, and having

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no longer an opportunity of ſeeing the blood flow from a living being,—they entered on a ſcene of barbarity, ſtill more ſhocking than the firſt. The dead bodies of the Swiſs were ſtripped, and their clothes, dipped in the ſtill warm blood, divided among them as trophies of the glorious victory. Many of the bodies were cut limb from limb, and fleſh from bone; and, as different inclinations prompted the murderers, each took a hand, a heart, a head, or a piece of fleſh, to carry about on a bayonet, in ſanguinary and diabolical triumph. Some, who in the hurry of ſlaughter had been left with any remains of life, were thrown while living into the flames, amidſt the horrid imprecations of a mob, exulting in the varied torture; while thoſe bodies, that had remained whole in limb, were mangled in the moſt ſhocking and brutal manner. Some of the females were ſo ſavage as to cut off pieces of fleſh, chew them, and ſuck the blood, praiſing its delicious taſte. Numerous other cruelties and enormities ſtill more revolting to humanity, were practiſed with infernal boldneſs, ridiculing the laws of nature, and braving the vengeance of the ſupreme Being, which are infinitely too ſhocking to be related.

What a view preſented itſelf at this time! What a dreadful ſight was Paris, particularly the places where

where the maſſacres had been, on the evening of the 10th of Auguſt! The ſhops, windows and doors, were all ſhut up; the ſtreets were filled with men and women in arms, bearing their bleeding and bloody trophies. Some intoxicated with exceſs, yet ſtill graſping their ſtreaming ſabres, were wallowing in the effects of their own beaſtlineſs. Boys and girls were ſeen in ſeveral places, initiated into their parents' crimes, quarrelling for a head, an arm, a piece of fleſh, or a remnant of a Swiſs's clothing that had been thrown among them for a ſcramble. Two of theſe wretches in female form, were ſtriving with each other for a handkerchief which had been dipped in the blood of a Swiſs, but neither getting the advantage, each put an end in her mouth and ſucked the blood. The Place de Carouſel was like a vaſt furnace: to get to the palace on that ſide, it was neceſſary to paſs through two long piles of building, inflamed from one end to the other, to tread on burning marl or mangled carcaſes. The palace preſented another dreadful ſpectacle; battered, though not greatly injured, by the cannon of the rebels, its windows broken, and part of its ſhattered furniture ſtill hanging from them: but nothing could exceed the ſhocking appearance of the veſtibule, the ſtaircaſe, the chapel, and all the apartments.

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The walls were besmeared with blood, rubbed from the embrued hands of the murderers',—the wainscots broken,—and the pictures, glasses, and every other ornament, smashed into a thousand pieces. The floors were covered with mangled bodies, most of them naked, their limbs divided, and arms broken, with bottles, remnants of silk, sattin, linen, &c. of all kinds, promiscuously thrown about. The wardrobes of the King and Queen had been ransacked; and their contents, many of them, torn and divided among the mob, or thrown among the scattered ruins. The door of the palace, which led to the garden, was obstructed by heaps of the dead bodies of those who were slain in striving to escape from it. In all the walks of that elegant garden, in the basons, at the base of every statue, and the root of almost every tree, lay mangled bodies, hacked, even after death, in the most brutal and terrible manner: while, at the further end, as if to give the last horrid stroke to this most dreadful spectacle, the wooden barracks of the Swiss, in flames at the same time, cast their glaring light on cart loads of the dead, which the citizens were hurrying from the place where they had been massacred.

The 11th of August, though the members slain were considerably less—yet appeared little less horrible: the

the purſuit of the Swiſs ſtill continued with increaſing fury, nor was it limited to the unfortunate ſoldiers, but extended to every individual ſervant or porter, innocent in every other reſpect but having had the misfortune to be born in Switzerland.

An old man who was a porter, belonging to the mint, and who had not been in the leaſt degree concerned in the proceedings of the 10th, was adviſed by his maſter, early in the morning of the 11th, to ſeek his own ſafety, leſt the rabble, knowing him to be a Swiſs, ſhould come and murder him. He did as he adviſed, and went to the houſe of his brother, who was a porter alſo: he came juſt time enough to hear his laſt groan, having, but a few minutes before, been maſſacred, together withhis wife, and children.

A party of the rabble having diſcovered one of the Swiſs guards in his retreat, took him, ſtripped him naked, and told him to run: the poor fellow thinking that they had entirely releaſed him, thanked them, and run as they deſired; but, finding that they began to purſue and fire at him, he turned and begged of them if he was to die, that he might die like a ſoldier. He waited with reſolution till they approached him, and was immediately cut to pieces.

A variety of other atrocious acts were committed, too numerous indeed to recite, and every day produced fresh victims—Two Swiss who had on the 10th, concealed themselves in a cellar, where they remained all night, and till the evening of the 11th,—being faint with hunger and fatigue, one of them ventured to look out, and whispered to the other, that he believed all was quiet, and they might venture forth. They took off their regimentals, and otherwise disguised themselves: but, having been overheard by one of the mob, he watched for them, and, as they were endeavouring to escape, cried out, "there are two Swiss!"—They were instantly surrounded, and cut to pieces.

Many of the Swiss had on the 10th, concealed themselves in the cellars of the Feuillans: they were discovered the next day, and notice was directly given to the National Assembly. A decree had been passed, declaring all who had escaped to be under the protection of the law. A member arose, and proposed that they should be conducted to the Assembly. The Assembly ordered that they should be brought before them; and desired the tribunes to go out and assist in conducting the Swiss safely to the bar. They immediately agreed, and declared they would see it done, and left the galleries for that purpose. They were, in a short time, brought

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to the Assembly, and admitted into the hall. The rabble, having been informed of this new discovery, not yet sated with blood, prepared and sharpened their weapons, savagely desirous to wreak their insatiate revenge on these unfortunate men. They pressed into the Assembly, and demanded that they should be given up them. The members consulted with each other the most certain means of saving the Swiss from the fury of the populace: it was resolved, that they should be conducted to the Abbaye; and one member proposed, that an escort should be sent with them, composed of as many deputies as there were Swiss, and that each should walk arm in arm with a soldier, as the surest means of protecting them from the multitude. The poor Swiss who heard this proposal, lifted up their hands to Heaven in admiration and gratitude: the motion was, however, not agreed to. A deputation of citizens appeared at the bar, and demanded that some of the Swiss, who could sufficiently express themselves in French, should be questioned concerning the orders they had received:—this was decreed. Several were called to the bar; but they were so over-powered by hunger, thirst and fatigue, that they could scarcely articulate a word; which (a member observed) was not strange, when it was considered, that they had not tasted a morsel,

or drank a drop of any thing, for forty hours: a confeſſion, notwithſtanding, was extorted from them, that orders had been given them to fire, and that they had been made to believe, that the party, who attacked the palace, had intended the murder of the King and Queen. The Aſſembly, on the propoſition of M. Albite, decreed, that a court-martial ſhould be formed to judge the Swiſs; and that this decree, and many others for the purpoſe of reſtoring tranquillity to the capital, ſhould be proclaimed throughout Paris by the municipal officers on horſeback. A large party of National Guards were then ordered out; and the Swiſs were, with much trouble, conducted to the Abbaye.

The uncommon ſtep which I informed you the King took in going with his family to the general Aſſembly (where they were when the affray between the Marſeillois and the Swiſs commenced,) obliged them to ſtay there till Monday the 13th,—being by day in a little box adjoining to the Aſſembly, and ſleeping by night in a ſmall committee chamber;—from this place they were conducted by order of the Aſſembly, attended by M. Petion, to the Temple.—What I have ſaid of the diſpoſition of the people towards this unfortunate family, will render it needleſs to deſcribe the inſults they received in their proceſſion to their priſon.—Every

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ſpecies of abuſe and ſcurrility that the moſt envenomed tongue could utter, was profuſely laviſhed on them by the moſt abandoned and inhuman profligates. Being arrived at the Temple, M. Petion ſhewed the King an appartment, where he informed him he was to ſleep. He obſerved that he ſuppoſed he ſhould be allowed to chooſe his chamber, to which Mr Petion anſwered—" No! this is your bed room, and here you are to ſleep—the people have ordered it ſo."

The Palace had been ſo completely ranſacked, that when the Royal family were taken to their priſon they had not a change of clothing; the Queen was furniſhed with every article of dreſs, which was neceſſary by an amiable foreigner.

As I mean to relate only ſuch occurrences as are material, I ſhall now leave this unfortunate family in their priſon, and paſs on to what happened on the 2nd of September, when a new cauſe of diſturbance took place, and threatened Paris with another ſtorm. The deſpotiſm of the commiſſaries of the commons had raiſed the jealouſy of the other authorities, and the National Aſſembly began to ſhew ſigns of a revolt againſt their arrogated influence. The commiſſaries did all they could to prolong their proviſional power, until the meeting of the Convention. The Jacobins began to differ

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with each other,—ſome wiſhed for the immediate execution of the King and Queen, and others inſiſted upon their ſtill being kept as hoſtages, reſponſible for the invaſions of the combined armies. Petion was by degrees loſing a popularity, which Robertſpierre was trying to gain by continually and vehemently inſiſting on the trial of all the priſoners ſuſpected of ariſtocracy, and thoſe confined for their proceedings on the 10th of Auguſt. I would not have you think, however, that Petion was actually become leſs deſerving of the favour of the patriots than he had before been; but he was ſly and cunning, and ſecretly meditated and encouraged the plans of future confuſion; and conſequently, being a leſs public agent of villany than many others, the populace began to think that he cooled in his conduct, and transferred the exceſs of their adoration to more open and daring adventurers. Robertſpierre, on the contrary, having, ſince the 10th of Auguſt, boldly ſtood forward as the advocate of deſperate murder, they eagerly enliſted themſelves under his banners. Frivolous and trifling excuſes were purpoſely made for delaying the much-talked of trials; and Robertſpierre was contrivedly oppoſed, as the ſureſt method of aggravating the impatience of the multitude, and urging them to involve in one undiſtin-

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guiſhed and general maſſacre, all thoſe, who, from the failure in the proofs of their guilt, might eſcape from the ſentence of a tribunal, not too notoriouſly partial. Thus, by the moſt complicated villany, the Jacobins endeavoured to appear guiltleſs of tranſactions, which were undoubtedly the conſequences of their own machinations, and aſcribed them to the ſudden and ungovernable fury of a mob, impatient of the delay of a trial, which they deſignedly prorogued.

The ſummons which the Duke of Brunſwick had ſent to the garriſon of Verdun, and the quick advances he made, gave the laſt and moſt effective inſtigation to a general inſurrection.

The news of his having beſieged that town, and the unlikelyhood of its being able long to bear the ſiege, excited the utmoſt conſternation in Paris. The municipality, no doubt with a wiſh to heat the peoples minds to a degree proper for their purpoſe, publiſhed the following reſolutions;

I. The barriers ſhall immediately be ſtrictly guarded, and no egreſs ſhall be permitted.

II. All horſes, fit for the ſervice of thoſe who are to go to the frontiers, ſhall be inſtantly ſeized.

III. All citizens ſhall hold themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's warning.

IV. Citizens

IV. Citizens, who, on account of their age, and infirmities, are not able instantly to march, shall deposit their arms at the sections, to be given to such citizens as cannot arm themselves, and who may be desirous to march to the frontiers.

V. All suspected persons, and they who are so cowardly as to refuse to march, shall be instantly disarmed.

VI. Twenty-four commissioners shall immediately proceed to the armies, to announce to them these resolutions, and to the neighbouring departments, to invite the citizens to join their brethren at Paris, to march in a body to meet the enemy.

VII. The military committee shall sit permanently: they shall meet in the commons house, in the hall *ci-devant de la Reine*.

VIII. The alarm guns shall be immediately fired, and the general shall be beat in all the sections, to announce to the citizens the dangers of their country.

XI. The National Assembly, and the provisional executive powers, shall be informed of these decrees.

X. The members of the general council shall immediately repair to their respective sections, announce there the dispositions to be made by the present decrees, and paint with energy to all their

fellow

fellow citizens, the imminent dangers of their country, and the treachery with which they are surrounded and threatened: they shall represent to them, in the most forcible manner, that their liberty is in danger, and that the French territories are invaded: they shall, likewise, represent to them, that the intention of our enemies is to reduce us again to the most ignominious slavery; that we ought, rather than submit to it, to bury ourselves under the ruins of our country, and not to give up our towns, till they shall have been converted into a heap of ashes.

Those resolutions were no sooner fixed than the tocsin was rung, the general was beat, the alarm guns were fired, and the people immediately assembled, in great numbers, in the Champ de Mars. The municipal officers appeared on horseback, and in their scarfs, proclaiming, in every part of the town, that the country was in danger, and that it was the duty of all good citizens to fly to its relief.

These proclamations of the municipality were answered, according to custom, by the cries of "*Vive la Nation! Vive la Liberte! Vive l'Egalite! Abas les Tyrans!*" The Jacobins, with Robertspierre at their head, were busily engaged, in different parts of the town, in denouncing vengeance against the court and the aristocrats, and using endeavours,

to perſuade the people that they were betrayed,—that their foreign enemies were not thoſe they had moſt to ſtand in fear of,—that the flames of counter-revolution were burſting out in Paris,—that, at the time when the brave citizens ſhould be at a certain diſtance from the capital, on their way to defend the frontier towns, the priſons would be ſet open, and the flood of ariſtocracy would ruſh out, and overpower the metropolis,—that the liberty of the country was in danger, from enemies at home,—and that the recovery and ſafety of their natural rights could not be bought at too dear a rate. The mob, thus rouſed up to the height of deſperation, declared, that they would pour down by millions on the foreign enemy; but that they would firſt extinguiſh the flame of ariſtocracy in the capital, to its laſt ſpark. They immediately flew to the priſons, where the eccleſiaſtics, and other ſuſpected perſons, were confined; and having got a liſt of their names, and an account of the nature of the offences for which they were impriſoned, they maſſacred them, one by one, in the moſt ſhocking and brutal manner.

Information being given to the National Aſſembly, of what was doing, they ſent a deputation of twelve members, to endeavour to perſuade the mob to deſiſt: but their fury was not ſo eaſily

to be pacified, as it had been excited;——the maſſacre had been begun, and the cries of pity, humanity and juſtice, were loſt in the ſhouts of paſſion, barbarity, and murderous execration. None who were accuſed of ariſtocracy, or theft,—not a ſingle prieſt that could be found, eſcaped the horrid ſlaughter; while thoſe who had been confined for debt, or ſmall offences, were immediately liberated.

Eccleſiaſtics and all of whom they had the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion,—every one of decent appearance, who was not publicly known to be a *patriot*, who, unfortunately, were diſcovered by the rabble, were immediately ſlaughtered. An old officer who formerly belonged to the King's body-guard, ſome prieſts, and a biſhop, were ſeized on ſuſpicion, near the palace. They were intended to be brought to the municipality; but the mob, in their way, determined to take the law into their own hands, and immediately hanged them.

A party of the rabble went to the priſon de la Force, where the ladies of honour, and other of the attendants on the Royal Family, had been chiefly confined ſince the 10th of Auguſt. Neither ſex nor beauty made the leaſt impreſſion on theſe ſavage butchers,—they were all murdered with the moſt dreadful aggravations of ſlaughter, two or three ladies only excepted, whom the commiſſion-

ers of the National Assembly were happy enough to save. When they first came to this prison, the Princess de Lamballe kneeling to these desperate wretches, implored a suspension of her fate, for four and twenty hours; after she had sustained the grossest abuse, and insults, this was at last agreed to; and they left her, with the strongest assurances of a return at the expiration of that period. But, not long after, another mob, more savage than the former, broke into her apartments, and after having behaved in the most brutal manner, and executed the most shocking inventions of torture their barbarity could conceive, they cut off her head, and carried it about as a bloody trophy on the end of a pike, while her uncovered body was dragged about the streets by wretches, if possible more inhuman than themselves.

Having executed their horrid purpose, they then went to the Temple, declaring that they would treat the Queen in the like manner, and have her head to accompany that of the Princess de Lamballe. But commissioners from the National Assembly having been sent to the Temple, with great difficulty prevailed on the mob to desist from their intentions, informing them, that the lives of their magistrates were responsible for the safety of the royal family. The rabble, however, persisted in

their

their resolution not to withdraw until the King and Queen should see the spectacle they had brought to shew them. The commissioners undertook to tell the King and Queen of their resolutions. Their majesties shewed themselves at one of the windows of their prison, and the horrid sight was exhibited before them, while the mob loaded them with the most shocking execrations, and assured them, their fate would soon be decided in like manner.

The Princess de Lamballe's hair was very long: this, while the wretches were taking off her head, they laid aside, and afterwards dipped it, and soaked it in her blood. To render this sight more dreadfully shocking, as they displayed the head on a pike, they pulled the gory hair over her face, and as it ceased to drop with her own blood, they wetted it again, occasionally, with that of others.

It would tire you to particularise all the horrors committed on the second of September, and the three or four following days: the massacre was carried on with unabated fury, and the streets of Paris were strewed with carcases and separated limbs. The women did not less distinguish themselves on this occasion, than they did on the 10th of August: it is scarcely to be credited, though a horrid truth, that some among them absolutely

chewed

chewed the flesh of the mangled victims; and 'twas no uncommon sight to see them dip pieces of bread in the blood, and eat them with the most savage eagerness.

Several priests, having escaped the massacre of the day before, on the morning of the 3d, tried to go out at the barriers; but they were unfortunately intercepted, and a mob being soon collected, they were every one slaughtered.

The dead carcases and limbs lay so long in the streets, that the sight in no way impeded the people in passing or repassing—they trod on them without the smallest emotion. In fact, a decent dress, a watch, any thing of value, were now sufficient proofs of Aristocracy, as they became objects of plunder.

I will now close this Letter, and remain with respect,

Yours, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Dear Sir,

I WILL now finish this dreadful account, much too shocking to be dwelt on any longer,

ger, and draw to a conclusion, but as the indiscriminating world too often judge of men from the habits which they wear, or the situation of life in which they are placed, I will here annex a short description of a few of the leading men, whose names you will find often repeated, and who have made so much noise, and sustained so great a share in the transactions of the Legislative Assembly.—I will begin with

M. Petion formerly an attorney, one of the lowest order who are generally a disgrace to their profession; by the *practice* of hypocrisy, he found means to be returned for Chartres to the first National Assembly.—The clergy, who in this acquisition (blinded by the appearance of his zeal) were the chief cause of his success;—he was the first to attack, and at whom as you have heard, he pointed his most malicious persecutions. He was afterwards elected Mayor of Paris,—and since President of the Convention.

M. Robertspierre was brought up in the Orphan-house at Arras, and was indebted for his education and maintenance to the bounty of his bishop, who was massacred on the 2nd of September with other ecclesiastics, by the associates of his grateful orphan; it is said, but I know not if fact, that he is a nephew of Damiens the assassin.—At

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the time he was returned member of the first Assembly, he was clerk to a petty attorney, and in so low a condition, that he was obliged to beg a coat, to make a decent appearance. However, times seemingly have made an alteration in his circumstances, as he has now all the appearance of possessing an ample fortune.

M. Carra was born at Macon, in Burgundy, and received his education from the benevolence of his uncle, a pious Jesuit.—He was convicted of breaking open a shop, and stealing from thence money and goods to a considerable amount, for which he was condemned to be hanged, but his sentence was afterwards changed into two years imprisonment, and banishment for life, after that was expired.—Thus exiled from France, he went to Vienna, where he had not been long before he was detected in borrowing a gold watch from a young lady which she had no mind to part with, and was obliged suddenly to disappear.—He then went to Prussia, where he continued sometime in the honourable employment of a Spy.——In 1789 he returned to Paris, and was admitted a member of the Jacobin Club; since which he has been farther honoured by a seat in the Convention.

M. Danton was the son of a butcher, who had by his industry acquired a sufficiency to create in his

his mind a desire of educating his son for a higher sphere of life; he therefore bred him a doctor, but he practised with so little success, that the Count d'Artois, to whose household he was appointed,—used to threaten his servants who misbehaved,—that he would put them under the care of Danton. This place was procured for him through the interest of the Princess de Lamballe, he having married a relation of her waiting woman. He was the person who proposed sending a number of assassins to the several courts in Europe, to destroy aristocracy, and cause a general revolution; he was a principal person in the inhuman massacre of the Princess, his former benefactress.—Indeed, it was imagined by every one who knew of his obligations to her, that she would have been saved by his interest, but gratitude was not among the number of his *Virtues*.——He is now Minister of Justice at Paris.

M. Rouelle, once kept a small Eating-house, in the neighbourhood of London,—but not answering his payments so regularly as his creditors expected, he took the first opportunity of returning to his own country, hoping to succeed better in the midst of anarchy and confusion,——where all law was abolished,—than he could there, where it was expected, that a man should pay his just debts

—He was, ſoon after his return, found worthy of being deputed a member of the National Convention.

M. Chabot was the ſon of a baker. An uncle who was a great benefactor to him; (having brought him up) chanced to have a wife, whoſe perſon pleaſed him, he took the opportunity of eloping with her, which ſoon cauſed the death of the uncle. He afterwards debauch'd her daughter, but ſoon alttering his mind with regard to her, he perſuaded a third lady to plunder her huſband, and elope with him. He was, ſome time after this exploit, taken and confined in priſon, but having found means to procure his releaſe, he was ſhortly after returned a member of the National Legiſlative Aſſembly.

M. Briſſot, ſome time ſince, practiſed the art of picking pockets, in which he became ſo expert, that he was taken notice of by the gentlemen of the Police,—who wiſhed to form a more intimate acquaintance with him; this M. Briſſot genteelly declined, and withdrew very wiſely to France, where he continued his practice with more ſucceſs, though not all he deſerved. He was, before the Revolution, the friend and confidant of La Motte, who was executed as a ſpy, during the late war.

M.

M. Marat, as he is now called, was formerly known by the name of Champion. This he thought proper to resign, to prevent his being discovered in England, having fled from the law of his own country, for forging the billets dd'Escompte. He for some time supported himself by teaching the French Language, both in London and Oxford, but hearing that all law was abolished in his own country, like M. Rouelle, seized the opportunity of revisiting it without danger, and having exerted himself greatly in the patriotic cause, he was at last rewarded with a seat in the National Assembly.

M. Gorsas was the son of a schoolmaster, whom he succeeded in his business, for which he was to have allowed him a maintenance, during the remainder of his life; but of this he soon grew weary, and behaved to him in so unnatural and brutal a manner, that he was taken notice of by the police, who severely reprimanded and threatened to punish him:—But, this caused no alteration —— He, not long after, in one of his fits of ill temper, threw a bottle at his father's head, which put a period to his existence—He was tried for the murder, and condemned to be broke upon the wheel; but through the interest of the Duke de Polignac, with whom his brother lived as groom, his life was saved, he was sentenced to the Gallies, from whence

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he afterwards found means to get released, and at the time of the Revolution, in 1789,—thinking himself out of danger, he ventured to Paris; where, after a due exertion of his talents, and the merits of his former conduct, he was received first into the Society of Jacobins, and afterwards made a member of the Convention.

M. Condorcet was once so strongly suspected of aristocracy, that he was refused admission into the Jacobin Society. In order to obliterate such ideas, and induce them to receive him, he wrote a book on the legality of Equality, to render which more acceptable, he carried his opinion so far as to prove that a partition in the privileges of a husband, was likewise included; this so effectually served his purpose, and gained him the favour of the Jacobins, that they returned him sufficiently qualified, and he was, not long after, elected a member also of the Convention.

M. Merlin was formerly in the capacity of an under-usher to a School in England, during which he made his addresses to a young lady of small fortune, and was on the point of being married; but luckily receiving the money (the principal object of his adoration) the day prior to that on which they were to be united, he snatched the glorious golden opportunity to decamp, leaving the lady to think

think on what was done, and figh alone. But this did not laft him long, he was foon after reduced to the neceffitous fhift of breaking open a Lady's bureau, from which he took a confiderable fum, and returning to Paris, was made a member of the National Convention.

I have now given you as exact an account as I can readily recollect—there are perhaps a variety of circumftances which I may have omitted, fome from their being fimilar to what I have related, others which I have not thought of confequence fufficient to trouble you with. I fhall now conclude with obferving, that, when men like thofe I have been defcribing, have, in the midft of confufion, which they have been the promoters of, found means to rife from the moft infamous fituations, to which they were condemned for lawlefs behaviour, and become legiflators, you muft not be furprifed, fince the beft of countries may produce the worft of men, that, even in Great Britain, there fhould exift perfons, nay even natives, who would endeavour to overturn the conftitution, that, in the general confufion, they might be raifed from their obfcurity, and, for a few moments of a difhonoured life, be borne on the furface of fedition and rebellion. But to fuch men it fhould be noticed, that although in the convulfions of the ocean the natural gravitation

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of particles may for a ſhort time ceaſe, and ſolidity, rent from its abyſs, may be hurried into the chaos of confuſed matter, yet, when the ſtorm has ſubſided, it muſt again return to its original ſtate, and the heavier particles deſcend to their former ſituation from which, nothing but ſuch extraordinary convulſions could have raiſed them.

The political world is but a copy of the natural; —ſtates are as liable to frequent ſtorms, when the minds of men, raiſed by violent paſſions, ſwell up, overturn the ſupremacy of reaſon, and, in the anarchy of tumultuous and contending ideas, often imbibe ſentiments contrary and prejudicial to their natural diſpoſition. It is in this diſordered ſtate of oppoſite ſenſations, that men are often called upon to appoint a ruler or repreſentative; their powers of diſtinction are loſt in the turbulent ſituation of their minds; the moſt villanous object, ſtrikes them as the moſt deſerving; and of courſe their choice in general falls upon the very perſon who has, by diſordering their ſenſes, prevented their chooſing properly.

It is thus that ambitious and deſigning villains contrive to accompliſh their purpoſes by putting the minds of men into a ſtate of fermentation, overturning their reaſon, and poiſoning or concealing the true ſources of information. Thoſe people

ple, who (benefiting by the mildness and indulgence of our laws, by the free principles of which, and the liberty they allow, they are suffered publicly to utter and spread their sentiments with impunity) dare to assert falsely that they are the advocates for the true rights of man, and strive to excite insurrection in the British dominions, under the pretence that we are a not free people, must at once be condemned in the eyes of every sensible and judicious man. If their designs were honourable,—if they really wished to serve and instruct those whom they suppose are not sufficiently informed, and make them happier (if possible) than they are at present, they would enter into a full discussion of the government and constitution, neither of which need shrink from the most strict and severe investigation; they would say where either was defective: but they would tell the people, at the same time, that perfection in a government, or constitution is not possible; they would add, also, the reason,—the imperfection of humanity. They would then weigh the defects with the advantages—with the blessings afforded us by our constitution, shewing how little we want, but how much we have: they would urge the good things we already possess, and set forth the improbability, if not the impracticability, of procuring better. They would not address

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the wandering ideas, but the settled judgment of the people: they would shew a solid and steady light unto their reason: not an ignus fatuus to their fancy, they would not ransack theory to obtain a false power of *telling* them what they are not possessed of, but adduce practice to ask them what they *could* have more. This would appear the conduct of honourable men; it would serve only to make the people more content, and increase the idea of their happiness under their present government: it would cause no confusion,—no insurrection,—no rebellion,—no massacres,—no plunder,—no division of spoils; they would remain in a tranquil state of honourable allegiance, receiving and enjoying the benefits of a free and glorious government, and acknowledging cheerfully their debt of gratitude for the protection of their liberty, their property and life. Merit would continue to be the only means of preferment; superior talents would be principally rewarded, and honour and honesty would still be the acknowledged fundamentals of public and private virtue. Such a prospect, however, would not be agreeable to the designs of British Jacobins; their desperate fortunes ask more desperate expedients; their interests agree not with peace and good order, as from either of these they would have nothing to hope: it is on a change of

governmen

government that they look for emolument,——when the laws may be infringed, liberty overturned, property plundered without redreſs,——and when the weapon of the aſſaſſin, the dagger of the murderer, may be embrued with impunity in Britiſh blood. Such evils, though ſo induſtriouſly promoted, for the worſt of purpoſes, we ſtill hope, will never be the portion of this country. We yet acknowledge our Creator,——and while we do ſo he will not deſert us. We own an omnipotent Being, and obey his laws,—we worſhip him in his ſanctuaries, and keep his temples from ſacrilege and violation;—from the peaſant to the king, his is, with equal humility, adored and glorified; the diſpenſers of his laws are reſpected and reverenced, and ſubjected to neither deriſion nor perſecution.

I will now, with your leave, cloſe this correſpondence, aſſuring you, that I ſhall be always happy, on any future occaſion, to oblige you; and I remain,

Yours, &c.

FINIS.

M. La: Fayette Letter 5. Page 101

Santerre the Brewer introduces his troops into the Assembly } 37

The First Insurrection in Paris 14th July 1789 see the new opinions & principles introduced into France Page 116-17 — Jacobine Club. The chief members were, Mirabeau, Sieyes, Condorcet, Brissot, Petion, Barnave, the two Lameths, Bailly, Garat, Rabaud, Gorjas, Chabot, Chapellier, Bouche; The jacobin club, with its affiliated branches consisted of 300,000 adepts (says Barruel) who were supported by 2,000,000 of men, armed with pikes, hatchets, &c. ready to execute whatever they should command. It was formed of the most abandoned characters.

Extract — From the
Observations on the Dispute
between the West United
States of America & France
by Robert Goodloe Harper
Esq. one of the Representatives
for Congress for the State of
North Carolina
— See Note Page 63

It is computed that in
the year 1795 — 2,000,000. of
persons had been massacred
during the revolution; of
these 250,000 were women
230,000 Children
24,000 Ministers of the Gospel
504,000

This computation, which
amounts to nearly one-
tenth of the whole population
of France, does not include
those who were killed in
battles. — Page 72
Fifth Edition

Declaration of war by
France against the
Emperor 20th April 179
The Duke of Brunswick
did not begin his March
from Coblentz till the
27th July 1792 —

Edinburgh Evening
Courant 19th Nov. 179
Post Office 7 P.M.
one o'clock R.
A letter from Dover received
in London on Wednesday last,
contains the following language
"A report is prevalent
here, that a counter revolution
has taken place at Paris,
and that great slaughter
has been made among the
leading men; but I cannot
learn sufficient authority
for such it. Therefore you
[illegible] circumstances at Antwerp

Windsor Castle

4th. Jan.y 1799

Recapitulation of the
Captures from the different
Little Powers during the
War to the present Month —

French — 3 of 110 guns to 120;
2 of 80 to 84; 35 of 74; 35 of
to 44; 23 of 36 to 38; 11 of
2; 7 of 28; 16 of 24 to 26; 28 of
to 22; 19 of 18; 34 of 14 to 16;
of 8 to 12; and 25 of 6 guns
under — Total from 120 to 6 guns —
553

Spanish — 2 of 110 guns to 120;
of 80 to 84; 4 of 74; 2 of 40
44; 3 of 36 to 38; 2 of 32;
of 22; 3 of 18; 3 of 14 to 16;
3 of 6 guns & under —

Dutch — 2 of 74 guns; 9 of 64
68; 4 of 54 to 56; 2 of 40
; 3 of 36 to 38; 3 of 32;
of 24 to 26; 1 of 22; 2
16; 7 of 8 to 12; and
under.
Total 345 men of
232 Prize
[illegible]